This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Talleyrand

[illegible]

MEMOIRS
OF
C. M. TALLEYRAND
DE PERIGORD,

One of Bonaparte's Principal Secretaries of State, his Grand Chamberlain, and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, Ex-Bishop of Autun, Ex-Abbé of Celles and St. Dennis, &c.

CONTAINING THE PARTICULARS
OF
HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE,
OF HIS
INTRIGUES IN BOUDOIRS
AS WELL AS IN
CABINETS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH.

> When men through infamy to grandeur soar,
> They light a torch to shew their shame the more.
>
> YOUNG.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, FLEET STREET,
By T. Gillet, Salisbury Square.

1805.

Repair No. 961 c.3

DEDICATION

TO

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND *DE PERIGORD.*

SIR,

I AM convinced that your vanity will be more flattered by the publication of your successful intrigues in *Boudoirs*, than your *honour* hurt by the exposure of your dangerous plots in cabinets: I dedicate, therefore, to yourself the private and public memoirs of your own life.—I have long and well known you.

THE COMPILER.

THE

PREFACE.

In the compilation of these Memoirs it has required more assiduity, labour, and industry, to collect material, to assert facts, and verify authorities, than to arrange the whole in a biographical, or rather in an historical order. But, notwithstanding these long, troublesome, and diligent (often tiresome, and always disgusting) researches, some errors may have crept in, and some omissions have occurred; the eagerness, however, with which they shall be corrected in another edition, will, it is hoped, convince the reader that they have been unintentional, and that we would gladly have avoided them.

It is hardly possible to write the life of any great criminal, who has figured in the annals of the French rebellion, without connecting with it some shocking periods, not immediately connected with his own plots and crimes. In delineating, therefore, the portrait, and relating the particulars of a traitor, who in the name of liberty, revolted in 1789 against his lawful sovereign, and who in 1805 is an *organised* slave, under the title of one of the principal dignitaries of Buonaparte's military republic, it has been unavoidable not to give, at the same time, a short sketch of the revolutionary history itself. Attention has, however, always been paid, not to lose sight of the hero and his achievements.

In these volumes Talleyrand has been exposed in his true colours, as a subject, as a Christian, as an intriguer, as a politician, and as a lover. Since they were sent to the press, we have been favoured by a gentleman of rank, a British subject now in England, with some traits illustrating Talleyrand's character as a friend. They are inserted in the gentleman's own words:—

" A Roman Catholic by birth, and a descendant of a jacobite family of no little notoriety in 1688, I was sent by my parents, at an early age, from England to France for education. Their reason for doing so, was a prospect I had of inheriting, at the probably not distant death of a grand uncle, besides a large fortune, one of the foreign regiments in the French service, which had, with little interruption, been hereditary in my family, ever since the reign of Louis XIV.

"In 1784 my grand uncle died, and left me, at the age of sixteen, property amounting to 120,000 livres in the year; and the virtuous Louis XVI. appointed me colonel *a la suite* of the regiment lately commanded by my grand uncle.

"At my entrance into the world, which, considering both my rank and fortune, was brilliant, I met Talleyrand de Peregord, then bishop of Autun, at the hotel of the Duchess de B——, who introduced me to him. Admiring his lively genius and fashionable wit, I was not sorry to see that my company was not indifferent to him, although he was fifteen years older than myself. In his turn he presented me to all those societies at Versailles and Paris, which were most agreeable to me as a young man, and we soon became inseparable. Though not of age, I was happy enough to oblige him by my credit and name with several considerable sums, to prevent his dishonour, his affairs, from his passion for expensive pleasures, being very much deranged. Of these sums 24,000 livres remained due to me until 1791, *when he paid them in assignats!*

"Being too early my own master, my education had been much neglected, and I hardly knew, in 1789, the difference between a monarchical and republican government. My religious notions, and the oath I had taken to the king at the head of my regiment, were, however, sufficient to convince me, that I could not conscientiously as a Christian, or consistently as a man of honour, take another oath to the pretended nation, annihilating my former one. I therefore gave in my resignation as a colonel, but continued to reside in France as a British subject, and under the protection of the then English ambassador, the late respectable Duke of Dorset.

"After many, but vain endeavours, to convert me to his revolutionary principles, and to approve of his revolutionary conduct, Talleyrand's visits to me become less frequent; he declared, however, repeatedly that his friendship was always the same, *because political disagreements could never embroil real friends.* Being indirectly accused of being privy to the unfortunate attempt of Louis XVI. in June 1791 to escape his assassins, Talleyrand informed me in time of my danger, and flight prevented me from imprisonment. In return I was weak enough to be the dupe of his professions, and to assure the unfortunate queen of France of his loyalty.

" After narrowly escaping the massacres of September 1792, I found Talleyrand in England continuing the same assurances of friendship; I, therefore, on his return to France in 1796, and his appointment as a republican minister in 1797, applied to him to shew that fidelity to his friend which he had been unable to prove to his king, in procuring me permission to return to France, and to reclaim my property there. In July 1797 I obtained this permission, but not without previously paying one hundred guineas, as a *douceur* for a pass. The revolution of the 4th September following soon, however, destroyed all my hope, and as sickness prevented me from obeying the decree, which ordered all claimants to quit Paris in twenty-four hours, I was arrested and sent to the Temple. Talleyrand's interest procured me in January 1798 my release from that prison; but in going over to England, I was at Dunkirk plundered by the custom-house officers of near three hundred louis d'or, confided to my care by the relations of some emigrants in this country. Two months afterwards, to reclaim this money, I went back to France with a neutral vessel, but was arrested on my landing, and confined first at Ostend, and afterwards at St. Omer. I wrote to Talleyrand, who, after some delay, obtained me my liberty, but the money seized had been condemned, and was lost. He refused to interfere concerning my property, except upon one condition, that I should either with a French commission as a general officer, join and instruct the Irish rebels, or as an adjutant-general sail in a neutral vessel, with dispatches for Buonaparte in Egypt, and there obey his commands. As both my duty as a British subject, and my principles as a royalist, did not permit my acceptance of such terms, I was again imprisoned in the Temple, from which, after a severe confinement of nine months, during which I declined several new and similar proposals to serve rebellion, I was carried under an escort of gens d'armes to the Batavian frontiers,

tiers, and ordered, under pain of death, never more to enter the territory of the French republic.

"I then went to Embden, where in three weeks afterwards I embarked on board a Prussian vessel for the continent of America, having there some relatives, but our vessel was detained by a French privateer from Dunkirk. After being brought into that port, I was known again, arrested, and sent a prisoner to Paris, and once more the Temple was my cruel abode. There I was then tried five different times for life, by five different military commissions; first, as a returned emigrant; and when proving myself a British subject, as a spy, a *title* the revolutionary laws gave every British subject found in France, and not an adopted citizen, or a prisoner of war *. But though the conclusions of the public accusers were against me, the members of the military commissions acquitted me. For this Talleyrand took upon himself the merit, though I have reason to believe, that he rather desired my execution than acquittal.

---

* The compiler of these memoirs has also several times had the honour of confinement in the Temple, and of trials before military commissions. That the secret agents of France are found, even where they are little suspected, the following anecdote proves. Having often amused himself with sending anonymous communications to English papers, exposing the views and crimes of French rebels, one of these communications, sent in 1792, to a then loyal print, was in his own hand-writing presented to him in 1799 in the

"At last, in April 1800, the doors of the Temple were opened to me. Unfortunately a desire to see the hero of the day, Buonaparte, made me accept of a card, procured me by a friend, (whom necessity had forced into the revolutionary senate) to be present at the consular review. I got a good place on the front benches in the great hall of the castle of the Thuilleries, by the side of a lady with four children, dressed in mourning. When Buonaparte passed us, she threw herself with the children at his feet, and presented a petition. I had heard eight years before the good Louis XVI. on the very spot, in a similar occurrence, tell petitioners to kneel before their God, but never before man. My recollection

---

the Temple by the public accuser, to convince the judges of his ancient enmity to the revolution. This paper could have been got no where else but in the printing-office, where some French spy had penetrated. It had marks of having been in the hands of compositors.

lection of that circumstance, and perhaps my indignation at what I saw, made me forget that I was in the presence of a military despot. My looks must have betrayed my feelings, because I observed that Buonaparte had his eyes stedfastly fixed on me, and rather stammered than uttered an answer to the petitioners, always kneeling. When he went on he whispered to his aide-de-camp, Colonel Savary, who regarded me with attention, and afterwards in going out spoke to four grenadiers, centries inside the door, who fixed and observed me in their turn. Although I was there without any criminal intent or reproach, I became however rather alarmed, particularly when my petitioning neighbour told me, that the first consul, during her conversation with him, had never ceased to look furiously at me, *gnashing his teeth*, and that she supposed that I was a conspirator. Assuring her to the contrary, she bid me be gone. At the door of the hall I was, however, stopped by the centries, who told me that I was a prisoner (*consigner*) until the first consul's return, and could not, without his orders, leave the room. Immediately a rumour was circulated among the hundreds of persons present, that a conspiracy had been discovered, and that I was one of the principal chiefs; every body in consequence avoided my presence with terror. At Buonaparte's return in passing me, he stared at me with a ferocious and threatening look. When the hall was cleared, Colonel Savary, accompanied by a police commissary, inquired after my pass or card of citizen, who I was, and what my business was there? Upon answering him that I was a British subject, claiming property in France, but just released from the Temple, and that curiosity alone had brought me there, I was ordered to tell the names of my friends or acquaintances at Paris. Not wishing to expose either Talleyrand or other persons, I mentioned only a banker and notary, who for years had transacted business for my family and myself. After being searched all over for *arms*, *papers*, or *poison*, I was ordered back to the Temple, where Fouche's secretary, Desmarets, examined me secretly, and accused me of being a British agent sent to conspire against Buonaparte. I referred him to the determinations of the military commissions, to which he answered, *the rack shall make you speak* out. I then wrote several letters to Talleyrand, telling him of my situation, and asking as a favour rather to be shot than tortured; but without receiving any answer. In some weeks I was called before another military commission, which acquitted me of all capital charges, but ordered me to quit France immediately.

"During my many years wanderings without a home, I had been taken in and defrauded to a large amount by two men, who I am certain were secret revolutionary agents and missionaries. The one had been a steward to my parents and grand uncle, the other was introduced to me as a man in great favour with the directory, and willing to serve me, by an English gentleman who pretended the warmest friendship and greatest compassion for my misfortunes. Having several affairs to settle, and no money for a journey, I continued, contrary to the sentence of the military commission, to remain secreted at Paris, where, in September 1800, I had the bad luck to meet the last-mentioned of these infamous men, who, not to denounce me, or to bring forward a pretended suspicious letter, said to have been addressed to me from England, wished to compel me to sign bills as due to him for 12,000 livres. He had two years before, in shewing me a promise of the director Barras in my favour, got from me the secret, where, in my house at Paris, my plate was concealed, which, to the value, at the lowest of 2500l., he stole, and to conceal his robbery, caused my house to be sold as national property. My presence of mind preserved me this time from his snares, but such was his inveteracy, that suspecting I was gone to Holland, a police spy arrived there, with a requisition, in consequence of his denounciation, to have me delivered up as an English agent. The assistance of two English gentlemen, who lodged by chance in the same inn with me at Rotterdam, kindly procured me means to escape this danger, and to go to Germany. There a Dutchman, of the name of Bruiesson, joined me, and, with the positive promise of Talleyrand, of having my yet unsold property restored, allured me back to France. I had dined at Talleyrand's table, in this man's company, who bore a respectable character, perhaps, because he was said to be rich. Whether he was the dupe or accomplice of Talleyrand, I cannot determine; but I had not been at Paris ten days, when, after a refusal of carrying, under the name, and with the pass of an American traveller, dispatches to General Menou in Egypt, I was again shut up in the Temple. There one of the above-mentioned persons visited me, with a proposal from Talleyrand to exchange my pecuniary claims in France, for those, which a French citizen, related to him, had in England, where a large sum belonging to him in the funds was under sequestration. To this I willingly assented, and according to his desire, and not to excite any alarm, dated as from Hamburgh, the letters, which I, on this subject, wrote from the Temple to my friends in England. To convince me of sincerity on his part, to delude me so much the more, and perhaps to cause my disgrace, if not ruin, letters of credit, taken in my name, for defraying my travelling expences, &c. as from some capital banking houses in London and at Frankfort, were delivered to me to the amount of 36,000 livres, for which sum I gave my bonds. To my utter astonishment these letters of credit, when presented, were proved to be forgeries, and had I not been well known to a respectable banker at Frankfort, the consequence would have become most fatal to me and to my honour. Fortunately such infamous frauds had before been played by Talleyrand's agents on unfortunate prisoners, whom they attempted to dishonour abroad, after being unable to pervert their loyalty, or shake their principles at home; in the commercial cities on the continent, these nefarious deeds are well known. But if I escaped the plot laid against my honour on the continent, I suffered severely in my fortune in France. The bonds I had given for the letters of credit, were, during my absence, brought before the tribunals, and my remaining property, twenty times the value of the bonds, was disposed of at an auction, for merely a trifle, to pay them *. Those occurrences happened in the spring, 1801. In

---

* In this selfish and depraved age, the unfortunate is always in the wrong; though it is impossible, that men, who, from fidelity to their duty and principles have preferred poverty to affluence, and obscurity to celebrity, could at once be capable of a mean action. How many have not, however, their honour stained, because a revolutionary tribunal has sent them to death as forgers of passes, of assignats, of bills of exchange, of Bank notes, &c. which probably they received from their very judges or their agents? How many honourable persons in France have not, as the Duke of Enghien, been condemned as English spies, by the hired

In the following autumn, when the Marquis Cornwallis, to whom I had seven years before been introduced, arrived in France, as an English Plenipotentiary, I presented to him a memorial concerning my demands, which he recommended to Talleyrand, who in consequence, invited me to breakfast with him. Disowning all connection with, and even *knowledge* of, these infamous intriguers, who had swindled me of my bonds, and exposed me to the most eminent danger; he assured me of the continuance of his friendship, and as a proof, he said, that he had already mentioned to the First Consul my sufferings and my innocence. He endeavoured to convince me of the folly of continuing to suffer for a cause, every day made more desperate, and to persuade me to take advantage of the prosperity which is offered, in joining those whom *fortune* and *merit* favour. He said, that Buonaparte, *upon his responsibility*, had consented to appoint me a colonel of a corps of guides, composed entirely of

---

hired judges and assassins of some powerful criminal, without any evidence but what was forged? In revolutionary times, men have to be cautious how to form opinions, and calumniate characters. Appearances are not to be depended upon, where guilt rules in palaces, and innocence suffers in gaols, or perishes on the scaffold.

young men of good military education, destined to serve under General De Caen, in the East Indies; and, added he, it will be your own fault, if, in some few years, you have not regained in Asia, double the amount of the fortune you have lost in Europe, and if your conduct is approved of, depend upon it, that your advancement shall be rapid. Upon my positive declaration, that neither rank nor riches should ever make me act contrary to my principles; and upon my observation, that the recovery of my property in France was not a favour asked, but a justice demanded and due, he answered coolly; "You will then die as you have lived, a ruined fanatic; because you cannot flatter yourself that England will go to war with France on account of your lost property, which will never be restored to you. I am sorry to find you an incorrigible Angloman and royalist. For such a one any stay in the French Republic cannot be agreeable; my last advice to you, *as a friend*, is therefore to leave the French territory; and the sooner the better." I knew the meaning too well, and dreaded the consequences of this friendly advice too much, not to take the hint and depart.——" Talleyrand you are alive—I defy you to contradict the above statement.—You cannot !"

THE

MEMOIRS

OF

C. M. TALLEYRAND.

The French revolution has produced more Philips than Alexanders.

MALLET DU PAN.

THE French people call Talleyrand Buonaparte's right arm, Berthier his military helmet, and Fouché his revolutionary armour. They ascribe to the talents of two of these ministers his achievements in the cabinet and in the field, and to the vigilance of the third, the safety which the usurper enjoys in the midst of the bloody ruins of the throne, and of the reeking ashes of the statues, consecrated to liberty by republican incendiaries. Of these three public functionaries Talleyrand is regarded the first, and is thought the most necessary to preserve a revolutionary government in France, to maintain a revolutionary spirit in Europe, and to keep the revolution from any retrograde tendency*. To him Buonaparte is the most obliged; and an upstart sovereign, with little more than a military education, can ill dispense with his services†. Fortune and natural genius may make a warrior successful, but to form a statesman, they must be assisted or improved by early and particular studies, by profound meditation, and by a long knowledge of political practice. Without Fouché Buonaparte might have escaped the plots of the Royalists and of the Jacobins, and without Berthier he could have drawn plans of campaigns and gained battles; but without Talleyrand, the fruits of victory, those advantageous treaties, which, at the expence of the liberty and independence of the continent, have extended the boundaries and authority of France, would never have obtained ratification; he being the only counsellor whose profound cunning has hitherto often overcome the fierce obstinacy of the proud and insolent tyrant, whose military diplomacy, always confounding right with power, expects to have his dictates to foreign negotiators submitted to with the same implicit obedience, as his commands to French soldiers *.

---

* See Les Nouvelles a la Main, Vendemaire, year XIII. No. 1. P. 3.

† See the ſame, No. 11. p. 2.

Such consequence the well-founded opinions of his countrymen give to Talleyrand. To be acquainted, therefore, with the life of this minister, to whose fatal abilities nations owe their fetters, must be nearly as interesting and useful as to know the character of that Corsican chieftain, who, to gratify his lust for command, for dominion and plunder, has barbarously changed combats into butcheries, and sacrilegiously torn to pieces that sacred compact called the law of nations, and who, by his atrocities, has become the terror and scourge of the universe.

Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Peregord was born at Paris on the 7th. of March, 1754, and is descended from one of the most antient families

---

* See Les Nouvelles a la Main, Vendemaire, year XIII. No. 11. p. 4. and 5.

in France. He is the younger son of a younger branch of the Counts of Peregord, who, three centuries ago, were sovereigns of a country in the south-western part of France, yet called Peregord. Club-footed by birth, and having no hope of any fortune from his parents, he was from his youth educated and destined for the church. At the college of Louis le Grand he evinced early genius and early depravity. In 1767 he obtained the first prize for learning in his class, but was, at the same time, publicly reprimanded for his too glaring irregularities. At that age, to innocent and noble minds led astray by volatility or seduction, the publication of their errors is generally the worst of all chastisements, and produces immediate reform. A boy of thirteen, who shews no repentance for a fault with which he is reproached among his youthful companions, whose good opinion, shame as well as emulation should induce him to regain; when arrived at manhood, seldom regards what his contemporaries say or think of his committing a crime to gratify a passion; when the youth wants modesty, the man rarely possesses honour and virtue. Talleyrand, instead of returning to the path of duty, continued

nued his course of wickedness. During the Easter week 1768, he went with some debauched associates to a public brothel, kept in the *Rue Croix petits champs* by a woman of the name of *La Duboise*. He was there involved in a quarrel with some mousquetaires of the king's household troops; and, in consequence of declining to give one of them the satisfaction demanded, he was thrown from a two pair of stairs window into the street, and both his legs were broken by the fall. Refusing to tell the *guet*, at that time the police soldiers at Paris, his name and place of abode, he was carried to the hospital, *Hotel Dieu*, where he remained four days, before the superior of the college and his friends could learn what had become of him. The Lieutenant-General of the police, influenced by his relatives, gave out that the fracture was produced by accident in the street, and ordered him to be removed back to the college. But there, by the confession of one of his associates, the real cause was already known, and his re-admission therefore refused. It has been related, that when he was informed of his disgrace, though lying on a bed of sickness, he flew into a passion, swearing that it should not be for want of his active endeavours and *philosophical* zeal, if twenty-five years afterwards Christian teachers and Christian pupils were still found in France, or if Christian churches were not changed into theatres, and Christian colleges into brothels *. That he has kept his word France has experienced, and all Europe can attest.

Talleyrand's father had died two years before, and bequeathed to his son nothing but his high birth. He had, however, recommended this young *vaurien* †, as he was called, to his elder brother, the respectable chief of their family, Count de Peregord, who had his nephew secretly brought from the hospital to his palace, *Rüe de L'Université, Fauxbourg St. Germain.* In the autumn of the same year he was so far recovered as to be put under the care of the same governor with his first cousin, Prince de Chalay, a nobleman equally good and loyal, and whose worthy brother, the Viscount St. Albert, has since married an English lady. The governor, Fouquet, soon observed that, notwithſtanding the brightness of Talleyrand's genius, his most difficult task would be with this pupil. Vicious propensities prematurely discovered themselves in the study, in their walks, at table, and in the drawing-room, but they shewed themselves mostly to advantage. Mischievous as a wicked boy, he was perverse as an accomplished villain, nicknamed among the French fashionables, *un aimable roué*. By turns he duped his cousin by his art, and deceived his governor by his duplicity. He reigned over the former by his superior capacity, and often ruled the latter by an hypocrisy above his age, so perfect as to be mistaken for ingenuousness. Whenever he could get out alone, the brothel and the gambling house were his usual places of resort. To indulge his extravagance, he robbed his cousin of his pocket money, his governor of his books, and even made free with the scanty purses of their servants, but always in such a manner as to continue undiscovered, if not unsuspected *. It was in 1770 that a scene of infamy was first detected, which would have done honour to the heads and hearts of all the rebellious brigands, who, from Mirabeau to Buonaparte, have since figured upon the revolutionary stage of France.

---

* A pamphlet printed by Duchesne at Paris in 1789, called La Vie Laique et Ecclesiastique du Monseigneur L' Eveque d' Autun, contains all the particulars of Talleyrand's early life, fee p. 4, 5, & 6.

† *Vaurien*, signifies a young rogue.

---

* See the last quoted pamphlet, p. 8.

In the vicinity of Count de Peregord's palace, resided in the *Rüe de Bacq*, Madame Gauchier, a widow with five children, three of whom were daughters. Her husband, a Swiss by birth, had early entered the French service, and from his merit had risen from the ranks to be a captain and knight of the order of St. Louis. Wounded in Germany during the seven years war, he survived the peace of 1767, which concluded it, only two years. The scanty pension allowed his widow by government was not sufficient to support her family, she therefore became a mantua-maker, and brought up her daughters to the same trade. Their industry and regularity were the common topics of converſation, and the admiration of all their good neighbours until the spring of 1769, when, on a fatal day, the charms of the girls excited the attention and desire of the young debauché Talleyrand. Poor and artless, by splendid presents and brilliant offers their innocence was soon allured by the insidious snares of seduction. In less than six months Maria and Amy, the one aged eighteen, the other sixteen, were in a state of pregnancy; and were persuaded by their base seducer to take some drugs in order to cause miscarriages. Of what ingredients these drugs were composed is best known to Talleyrand, but so dreadful were their effects, they immediately deprived Amy of life and Maria of her reason; and the wretched mother accompanied, on the same day, one of her daughters to the grave, and the other to a mad house! So little did she suspect the real author of her misery, that she continued to receive, with distinction, the visits of the assasin; consulted him as a friend, and revered him as a benefactor. She had, however, soon occasion to repent of her simplicity, and to deplore her ignorance. Her third-daughter, Sophia, on her fourteenth birth-day, during the carnival 1770, eloped from her distressed parent. After many fruitless searches, the police was applied to; but, in such a manner had Talleyrand planned the retreat of his new victim, that, until mid-summer, the police spies could not find out her place of concealment. Had not the female accomplice, in whom he trusted, betrayed his secrets, they probably would not even then have succeeded *.

Among other virtuous persons, feeling for the sufferings, and interesting themselves in behalf of the unfortunate Madame Gauchier, the humane and generous Duke of Penthiévre was the foremost; he offered a reward of 3000 livres (125l.) to any person who should discover the abode of the lost child. This sum was too strong a temptation for the woman in whose house, and under whose care the girl had resided in the *Rue St. Antoin* to resist; and poor Sophia Gauchier was taken in the arms of her seducer, being in a fair way to become a mother. In her room was a a box containing pills which were intended, according to Sophia's confession, for the purpose of producing abortion. These, after being examined and compared with the drugs found in the corpse of the poisoned Amy, leave little doubt who was the real perpetrator of that crime; who, besides, from juvenile indiscretion, or depraved vanity, had boasted of his intrigues with, and gloried in the ruin of the two elder sisters, as well as in that of the youngest. At the recommendation, and under the protection of the Duke of Penthiévre, Sophia was received in the convent of the Urselines, in the *Bois de Boulogne*, near Paris; where, notwithstanding the tender attention and religious consolation of the abbess, she shortly expired, in consequence of a premature delivery; her death was, in two days, followed by that of her mother, from a broken heart, and the same tomb contained them both *. Talleyrand had hardly finished the first year of his fourth lustrum, when these attrocious deeds were committed, the perpetration of which afforded a fatal presage of the cool and deliberate crimes, since committed by the patricide and apostate bishop, by the regicide and revolutionary minister.

---

* See the last pamphlet, p. 12 & 13.

When Count de Peregord was informed of his nephew's consummate infamy, a family council was convoked; some wished to have the young monster sent away, and exiled to the colonies for life, whilst others, not to expose the honour of their name by new atrocities in new climates, proposed a petition to the king for a *Lettre-de-Cachet*. This was attained, and in October, 1770,

---

* See the last pamphlet, p. 4. and the note.

Talleyrand was seized at a gambling house in the Palais Royal, and confined in the bastille, under the name of Abbé Boiteux. From this state prison he was, in the following December, removed to the castle of Vincennes, where he continued in solitary confinement for twelve months *.

Factious, discontented, or deluded persons, of all countries have never ceased to declaim against these sort of arbitrary imprisonments under monarchy in France, although they must know that the ruins of one bastille have produced hundreds of republican state dungeons; for one individual, detained by royal *Lettres-de-Cachet*, thousands have already suffered, and still suffer from the effects of the cruel *mandats d'arrêt* of republican tyranny. On the 14th of July, 1789, when a rebellious mob surprized the bastille, that is to say, at a juncture, when so many seditious practices, plots, libels, and dangers, might have induced the French government to have had recourse to that means of repressing its enemies, there were but FIVE prisoners found in that state prison; of these, three were guilty of monstrous crimes, which, from their nature were deemed dangerous to be made public; the other two, had they been arraigned in a court of juſtice, would have been much more severely punished. It was no doubt an abuse to remove them from their proper judges; but it was an abuse that had not fallen on *innocent victims*. Neither these prisoners, nor any that were confined in other state prisons, dared to make use of their liberty, of the anarchy that prevailed, or of the partiality of the national assembly, to apply for an inquiry, a legal trial and indemnification; although this assembly encouraged them to it, by appointing *a committee of Lettres de Cachet*, in which Mirabeau figured as president. Can it be supposed, that if there had been any innocent persons among the prisoners who had recovered their liberty, that the court would have escaped from being solemnly accused of the injustice it had committed? Let conspirators, innovators, *reformers*, and declaimers remember this, and that to the use of *Lettres de Cachet*, odious as they regard it, they are indebted for the existence of their two revolutionary heroes, Mirabeau and Talleyrand; who, without this ill-timed lenity of Louis XVI, would, long before the

---

* See the last pamphlet, p. 17.

French rebellion, have deservedly expiated their enormities on a gibbet!

While in prison, Talleyrand, instead of contemplating his offences against society with contrition, employed his innate hypocrisy to contrive some means for attaining his liberty. The chaplain of the Castle of *Vincennes* visited him in the double capacity of a comforter and instructor, and was the only person permitted to visit him; with this priest he regularly read, prayed, sighed, and wept. He often inflicted severe penances on himself, and even expressed a desire of entering the order *La Trap*, the most rigid of all monastic institutions. These *devout* acts convinced the simple chaplain of a perfect reform, who, in consequence, assured the Count de Peregord, in a letter, "that the life of the Abbé Boiteux, was not only that of repentance, but of edification." Upon this assurance the doors of the prison were opened, and he was sent to finish his studies with the Jesuits of Toulouse, where, in 1773, he was received a member of the Gallican clergy, by the famous Bishop Lomenie de Brienne, afterwards so notorious in the annals of French rebellion for his religious and political apostacy, under the title of Cardinal de Brienne, bishop of Sens *.

La Chronique Scandaleuse of 1774, p. 110, mentions Abbé de Peregord, as Talleyrand was then called, as a great favourite with Madame Du Barry, the mistress of Louis XV, and that with other young debauchees he was the constant attendant at her toilette in the morning, and in her Boudoirs in the evening. He is even said to have been admitted into her private parties and most *confidential* coteries; in one of which he, by her recommendation, obtained from Louis XV two abbeys worth 24,000 livres (1000l.) in the year, and the *ſurvivance* of the bishopric of Autun, or which is the same thing, the king's letters patent to succeed to that see at the first vacancy.

The courtiers, who composed the female part of Madame Du Barry's society, were both loose in their conduct, and corrupt in their moral and religious notions. To speak of modesty, to praise virtue, and to extol religion was a certain signal of exclusion from her court. This unfortunate woman, who, from a common prostitute in the brothel of *La Gourdan*, had become the mistress, and expected to be the wife of a king, had the audacious blasphemy often to repeat, " that next to devotion, she hated the chastity of her own sex; and that so far as it lay in her power, she should let those feel an hell upon earth, who hoped for an heaven hereafter *." A man of Talleyrand's principles could not, therefore, be placed in a circle composed of ladies more in unison with, and more agreeable to, his own sentiments. Here was organized a true community of vice, a commonwealth of prostitution, and a republic founded upon equality of corruption, fraternity in debauchery, and uninterrupted liberty in all the pains or pleasures of licentiousness and intemperance. Here the wife was the partner of every man but her husband, and the husband shared his attention and caresses with every woman but his wife; and those who had neither wives, sisters, nor daughters to bestow or exchange, were freebooters, and enjoyed the rights of man on the common stock. At the *Petits soupées* in in the *Petits maisons*, or pavillions, none but the initiated were admitted, but when once admitted, their refinement in voluptuousness, confused or obscured the light of reason, in the same manner that it silenced the clamour of conscience. The present moment was every thing; and Talleyrand has often since declared, "that he never regretted any thing more than that sudden *annihilation* did not immediately follow these invaluable and inexpressibly delicious instants, because he would then have expired in the only paradise existing, and which is solely reserved for the voluptuous select *."

---

* See the last pamphlet, p. 19 and 20.

---

* See La Chronique Scandaleuse de l'an 1774. p. 114.

Such scandalous behaviour may be admired, and such sacrilegious language may please the immoral and unprincipled French, notwithstanding the warning and the lashes of chastisement they have felt from the iron rods, placed by providence in the hands of a Robespierre, of a Marat, of a Barras, of a Buonaparte, and of other sanguinary rebels. But it would be an eternal reproach to a loyal English writer to notice it without reprobation; and without informing my readers, that most of the persons, whose example and depravity excite such horror and disgust, have, during the contests of criminal factions since the revolution, either perished by their own hands, or by the hands of each other. And whilst the pure victims of successful rebellion have encountered death, not only with resignation, but with courage, they have shewn themselves as dastardly in their degradation, as they had been vile and debased during their prosperity. Count Du Barry, and his wife Madame Du Barry, were guillotined, cursing and struggling with their executioners; but the virtuous Louis XVI, and his immaculate sister, the Princess Elizabeth, died forgiving their persecutors, and praying for their assassins. They ascended the scaffold, to resign life with the same calm submission to the will of their Creator, as they had descended from their palace, to exchange their crowns for the fetters of rebellion. Although the measure of Talleyrand's iniquities seems not yet full, the death of his guilty companions was preferable to his agitated and oppressed existence. When the whims or passions of his capricious and unmerciful master command, he is forced to lay aside, not only understanding but common sense. This French slave trembles more at the frowns of a Corsican tyrant, than the Abysinian mute at those of a Turkish sultan.

---

* La Chronique Scandaleuse de l'an 1774. p. 121. and 122. and La vie Laique et Ecclesiastique de Monseigneur L'Eveque d'Autun, p. 24.

The favour of Madame Du Barry was a sure letter of introduction to all other gay and fashionable companies in the French capital. Talleyrand, therefore, no longer found it necessary to gratify his inclination for the fair sex, to stoop to intrigues with obscure mantua-makers. "Duchesses, Marchionesses, Countesses, and Baronesses were," according to his modest expressions, "dying by scores in love for him, or quarrelling with emulation to be the happy mortal that could fix their accomplished but volatile beau. During five years," he said, "that six husbands, from jealousy on his account, had blown out their brains, and eighteen lovers had perished in duels for ladies who were his mistresses. Ten wives, deserted by him, had retired in despair to convents. Twelve unmarried ladies, from doubt of his fidelity or constancy, had either broken their hearts, or poisoned themselves in desperation. All these were persons of *haut ton*; and in their number he did not, therefore, include the hundreds of the *Bourgeoisie* at the *Grisets*, or of chambermaids, who, forsaken by him, sought consolation from an halter, or in the river Seine. He had besides, during the same short period, made twenty-four husbands happy fathers, and forty maids solitary and miserable mothers * !"

Foreigners who have not travelled in France, or who have not had the misfortune to be plagued with such ridiculous bombast, and such impertinent vauntings of French *petits maitres*, can hardly conceive an idea of their insufferable and puerile vanity; but by mixing a little with the society of men of gaiety, who pretend to be the favourites of women, they will experience, as a reality, in France, what, in other countries, must be supposed an improbability, as well as an absurdity and disgrace. But what will surprise a stranger in France more than any thing else, after listening to the jargon of these amorous gasconaders, he may, upon inquiry, be convinced that they are very agreeable to the French ladies; and, therefore the most impudently lying intriguer, or the most indiscreet *gallant*, is always the most fashionable, and often the most favoured lover.

---

* See the last mentioned pamphlet, p. 28 and 29. The above, though a literal translation, would not been noticed, had not the author often heard in France nearly the same absurd expressions of boasts from persons, not possessing half the pretensions of Talleyrand.

In the many pamphlets published against Talleyrand in the beginning of the revolution, exposing his scandalous and anti-episcopal life to public animadversion, several ladies, yet alive, are mentioned, whose morals he had corrupted, whose favours he had shared, whose money he had borrowed, whose property he had squandered, and whose husbands, after dishonouring, he had ruined. In some houses his dignity in the church, and in others his wit procured him admission; but wherever he visited, some females or other became the victims of his artifice and lust. If the wives or daughters were too wise or too prudent, their maids were seduced; but in most houses he carried on two or three intrigues at the same time. In the spring of 1780 the young wife of President de M——, his daughter, by a former marriage, and his sister-in-law, who had just left the convent where she had been educated, were, by their mutual jealousy and disagreement, all three discovered intriguing with him. The President, in consequence, separated from his wife, married his daughter to his secretary, and obliged his sister-in-law to take the veil in the convent of the Carmelites, at Lisle in Flanders. Like a true French intriguer, the noise this scandal made, only served to flatter his vanity; and after being envied by some, applauded by many, and reprobated scarcely by any, he retired for four months to Autun, "in order," as he said, "that the regret occasioned by his absence, might, at his return, the more easily procure him fresh laurels in his campaigns in the Parisian Boudoirs *."

In this retreat he was followed, in some weeks, by the Marchioness de C———n, who, under pretence of visiting an estate of her husband's in Burgundy, expected to give an agreeable surprize to her *bon ami*, the bishop. Notwithstanding the haste she made, she did not find him the staunch misanthrope of the stoical sect, meditating in solitude on the insignificance of human existence, but the voluptuous philosopher of the Epicurean school, surrounded with beauties that would not have disgraced the seraglio of a Pacha. Hardly a woman of the diocese of Autun, having any pretensions to beauty or fashion, neglected this opportunity of the presence of their pastor among them, to pay him their personal devoirs. Their poor husbands, fathers, and brothers, could not oppose these dutiful acts of respect and piety, dictated perhaps by their devotion. The Marchioness was regarded by these Burgundy ladies as an intruder; and they, in their turn, were treated by her with that easy contempt, which court and fashionable ladies know how to bestow so well and so gracefully, on those whose education in the country often makes them equally aukward in shewing their jealousy, in expressing their friendship, or in publishing their hatred. Her pointed sallies and ready wit soon drove her rivals from the field of battle, and her triumph would have been complete, had not another more dangerous enemy presented herself. Madame de M———, the separated wife of President de M———, suddenly made her appearance. Her sufferings for his sake were claims her seducer seemed to acknowledge, by receiving her with open arms. The Marchioness, instead of combating this new foe, entered into a negotiation, and according to the scandalous chronicle, a partition-treaty was the consequence. The parties agreed to absent themselves, at fixed periods, from the episcopal palace at Autun; and when the Marchioness went to reside on her estate, Madame de M——— remained with the bishop; and during her stipulated visits to a sister at *Chalons sur le Soane*, the Marchioness returned to, and staid at Autun *.

---

* See the last mentioned pamphlet, p. 36. and another pamphlet called Les Miracles Carnales de St. Charles Eveque d' Autun, et Patriarches de la Revolution, printed by Mercier, in the Palais Royal, Paris, 1792, p. 4.

The night before this agreement was to be put into execution, an occurrence took place that changed it into an offensive and defensive compact, against their faithless but common lover, considered now as their common and irreconcileable enemy. The Marchioness, like other political negotiators, had spies placed about her friend, as well as about her rival. After she had retired to rest, she was informed that a stranger had slipt into Talleyrand's bed-room; she immediately sounded the alarm; and, accompanied by Madame de M———, passed through a secret stair-case, and surprised by his side, the landlady of an inn at Autun, called *Petit Versailles*. The two ladies thought it prudent to suppress their indignation, but this was not the case with the hostess, who, proud of her situation, which indicated her preference, reproached them in gross language, with jealousy and envy, and appealed to her lover to say, if he had not just confessed that her charms were superior to those of her rivals *.

---

* La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuse. Bruxelles, 1788. p. 44. tom. ii.

Mortifications and humiliations of this sort French women never pardon. Before day-light the allied ladies were on their way to the capital. As soon as they arrived, the coarse and unseemly taste of Talleyrand was their sole topic of conversation. They painted his faithless gallantry, and degrading conduct in such glowing colours, that those Parisian ladies who had to complain of, or who suspected his inconstancy, sent him letters to forbid him their company; whilst others, still attached to him, wrote, that his presence was absolutely necessary to retrieve his lost reputation, particularly as it was known, that the host of *Petit Versailles* had horse-whipped his reverence, and compelled him to pay 6000 livres (250l.) damages for the night passed with his spouse †.

---

* Idem, p. 60. and Les Miracles Carnales de St. Charles, &c. p. 6.

† See the two last. The former, the same volume, p. 66. and the latter p. 7. and La Vie Laique, &c. p. 45.

The revenge of Talleyrand was neither generous, manly, nor gallant; and though it humiliated his enemies, made him, for the future, the favourite of the fashionable females, rather through fear of the malice of his wit, than from attachment to his person, or from admiration of his conversation. He, therefore, soon experienced that he was no longer regarded as the agreeable companion, but dreaded as the relentlesss satirist of the Boudoirs, where restraint or affectation ever afterwards entered, and remained with him.

Previous to his return, " to clear the ground," as he is reported to have expressed himself, he sent to the old and malignant Duchess de B——vais, an illiberal and indelicate epigram against his two female foes. He was well aware of the gratification he afforded this lady, who, renounced by society, and deserted by her beauty, found no greater pleasure then to teaze, vex, and humiliate those who, from youth or accomplishments, might still hope for sway in the circle of fashion, and, therefore, though secrecy was recommended, publicity was certain.

LES DEUX RIVALES.

De la ceinture en haut, ce n'est que vanité,
De la ceinture en bas, ce n'est qu' impurité ;
Ce n'est que fard par le dehors,
Au dedans ce n'est que malice;
Oter les le fard et le vice,
Vous les otez l'ame et le corps *.

To this epigram some well-meaning but mistaken friend of the Marchioness, published as an answer the two following feeble lines:

A CHARLES.

Allez, vil idolatre, et fait pour toujours l'etre,
Indigne Evêque ! cherchez un autre maitre †!

Although Talleyrand had the advantage of his offended mistresses thus far, the means he took to obtain it were neither honourable, nor his triumph of long duration; for he was very soon assailed from a quarter, and in a manner, he little expected. The Marchioness had, from his own mouth, heard of his base behaviour to the daughters of Madame Gauchier; and, after many inquiries, found that their eldest brother was an adjutant in the

---

* La Vie Laique, &c. p. 46. and Les Miracles Carnales, &c. p. 10.

† See the same pamphlet, and the same pages.

Swiss regiment *Chateaux-vieux*, quartered at Nancy. By a confidential person, she informed him of the outrages committed upon his family by Talleyrand, instigating him to revenge, and promising all the support in the power of herself and friends. She advanced him money to proceed to Paris, where she procured him lodgings in her neighbourhood. She instructed him how to conduct himself with caution, yet with efficacy, and to punish the offender without endangering his own safety. He, accordingly, went to Talleyrand, and after coolly relating his complaints, demanded 100,000 livres (4000l.) for not proceeding against him at the tribunals, or petitioning to his temporal and spiritual sovereigns the King of France and the Pope of Rome. Talleyrand, after exculpating himself as well as he could for this *etourderie de la jeunesse*, or indiscretion of youth, as he affected to term it, offered Gauchier a present of twenty-five louis d'ors, on condition that he would return to his regiment, and never more mention this *bagatelle*; this offer was, of course, rejected with indignation and disdain.

From the determined language of the young man, he suspected, however, some secret instructor

tor behind the curtain. To disappoint them both, he went to the war office, and, under some specious pretext, or by means of bribes, obtained an order for Gauchier, enjoining him to quit Paris in five hours, and to be with his regiment within six days. The Marchioness, with the assistance of her friends, got this order revoked; and the next day Gauchier delivered a petition to the Pope's nuncio, informing him that another, to the same purport, would be presented to the king *.

The good Louis XVI was not entirely ignorant of the vicious life of Talleyrand, and it had required all the influence of his family to obtain from this monarch his appointment to the see of Autun; and they would probably not have succeeded in their efforts, had not this prince, as religious as he was virtuous, quieted the scruples of his conscience by judging it a duty to do honour to the presentation of his grand-father, by giving it his approbation. It is not hazardous to suppose that if any crimes could be proved to have been committed by Talleyrand, neither his dignity in the church, nor his noble birth, could

---

* La Vie Laique, &c. p. 48.

be expected to avert public justice, or prevent it from taking its course. To this he was no stranger, and the communication of Gauchier's memorial from the papal nuncio, therefore both humbled and alarmed him. By pecuniary sacrifices he might have hushed this disagreeable affair, but his extravagance with women, his profusion with men, want of order in his domestic concerns, and losses at the gambling tables, had exhausted all his resources, and he possessed as little credit as honour or honesty. He sent, however, for Gauchier, who, with much difficulty, was persuaded, at last, to withdraw the petition from the nuncio, and to sign a promise of secrecy and oblivion, and received a bond for the sum demanded. Two days afterwards, this young man was taken up dead from the nets (filets) of St. Cloud, having been robbed, stabbed, and thrown into the Seine *.

---

* See the same, p. 52. and Les Miracles Carnales, &c. p. 9. In the note of the same page it is said that the lieutenant of police at Paris, Le Noir, was convinced that Gauchier had been murdered by Talleyrand's valet de chambre, Le Hamand. Gauchier's youngest brother served in the Swiss Guards, and was killed on the 10th of August, 1792, in defending the Castle of the Thuilleries against the Parisian rebels and banditti.

The Marchioness de C——n, in advising Gauchier to ask for a sum of money, knew very well the deranged situation of Talleyrand's finances, and as his ruin was her only object, a bond, he would be unable to pay, was the most useful instrument in her hands, where it had been deposited as a security for 12,000 livres, (500l.) which she lent the young man to purchase a commission in the dragoon regiment of Schomberg, to the colonel of which, her relation, she had given him strong letters of recommendation. All this money, and all these papers, were probably in Gauchier's pocket when he was assassinated, as they were searched for in his lodgings, without success. His death was first announced to her in a note from Talleyraud, requesting an interview, and stating that his information came from the police. She agreed to his request, in hopes, that from his conversation, she might find some evidence to implicate him in Gauchier's murder. To effect this she took the precaution to conceal two persons in a closet adjoining her saloon, where they could see and hear every thing that passed. But she had to deal with a man as artful as he was unconscionable, as suspicious as he was wicked. At the three first interviews nothing was expressed, on his part, but apologies and regrets for the misfortune he deplored, of having given her offence. Not a word of Gauchier, except what was contained in his note. He only hinted, *en passant*, "that he had spoke with his friend the colonel, to whom she had recommended the *adventurer*, and heard from him of her interesting herself in his behalf, which occasioned him to mention his untimely death in the note *.

Observing that her reserve decreased as his visits were repeated, Talleyrand affected more tenderness than ever, and was gratified by seeing her former passion for him revive. Again deceived by his duplicity, a perfect reconciliation took place on her part; and, to convince him of her sincerity, she even went so far, in an unguarded moment, as to burn, before his eyes, the bond given to Gauchier. This imprudent act of kindness, by discovering her connection with Gauchier, only added fresh fuel to his former hatred. But, though he had determined upon her exposure and destruction, he continued to visit her with seemingly increased affection. Unsuspectingly she pressed a serpent to her bosom, who was only watching an opportunity to sting it with increased venom, and render the wound he was about to inflict, worse than a death-blow *.

---

* La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuse, tom. ii. p. 93.

The Marquis de C——n was twenty-five years older than the Marchioness. He had married her, not from love or eſteem, but because her fortune was sufficient to pay off the mortgages on his estates. He was not apt to be jealous, nor did he much care about her intrigues; but he hated publicity, and feared the ridicule resulting from it. Talleyrand, the better to conceal his numerous intrigues, had, under the names of different persons, taken six appartments, in different parts of Paris. His usual place of appointment with the Marchioness, was

---

* See the same work and volume, p. 96. and 97. where, in a note, it is related, as a fact, that during the three months the Marchioness was Talleyrand's dupe, before she became his victim, she lent him, *upon his parole*, 150,000 livres (6000l.) which he afterwards denied. This affair, according to Les Miracles Carnales, &c. p. 12. occurred in the month of May, 1783. and the Marchioness and Talleyrand left Paris, for their respective exiles, on the same day, the 20th.

a first floor in the Fauxbourg St. Honoré, hired by his valet de chambre, and in his own name. Knowing, one night, that her husband supped in this vicinity, he carried her there from the opera. After a short supper, and when she was undressing, he made an excuse to absent himself for an hour, on some pretext or other. The Marchioness went to bed, and extinguished the bougies, as was her custom, lights being always in the antichamber. As soon as she was asleep, a person laid himself down by her side. In the midst of her reſt, she was suddenly awakened by a noise from the ſtreet, where some persons were fighting. The assailant, after being accused of having wounded his opponent, sought refuge in this house, where he was followed, both by the police guards, and by the mob. Under an idea that the assasin had entered the room where the Marchioness slept, the door was forced open, and she, together with her bed-fellow, who was no other than Talleyrand's valet de chambre, Le Hamand, was arreſted. Her surprise, her proteſtations, her tears, and her indignation availed nothing. She was on the point of being dragged, half naked, to prison, when her husband, informed, by an *unknown* hand, of her perilous situation, made his appearance, just a-pro-pos, to prevent all farther disgrace and eclat. The next day a deed of separation was signed between the Marquis and his Lady, wherein it was agreed she should receive an annual pension, and bind herself to travel abroad, and not revisit France during her husband's life. The scandal of this plot and treachery became too notorious not to reach the ears of Louis XVI. By his Majesty's command Talleyrand, after being reprimanded by the Pope's nuncio, in the presence of the archbishops of Paris, was put under the escort of two Guardes de Corps, carried back to Autun, and ordered, under pain of having his episcopal gown torn off, not to leave his diocese without the King's permission. His tool and accomplice, Le Hamand, was shut up in the house of correction, called *Bicetre*, after signing a confession of his guilt, which he said had been perpetrated by the desire of his master *.

---

* La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuse, tom. iii. p. 2. Who the sham-fighters were was never discovered. Le Hamand was, in September, 1792, one of the assassins of the prisoners at Paris, and afterwards an aide-de-camp to Santerre, and is now a colonel

On this subject, the court and the town were of the same opinion. Both reprobated the man, and abhorred the priest, who, under the mask of friendship, and profession of affection, used his superior understanding and unsuspected art, to ruin, in such an infamous manner, a lady, whose greatest fault was her love for him, and who, had it not been for his seduction, would never have ceased to merit the esteem due to an irreproachable life. Talleyrand was the Marchioness's first and last lover. He found her innocent, and she did not long survive her dishonour. On quitting France, she went to Italy, and became a pensioner in a convent at Pavia, where she died, after a residence of eighteen weeks. Her contrition, her piety, and her death, were announced by the Abbess to the Marquis, in terms that will always, in the opinion of the mild and forgiving Christian, do honour to her memory. "If her life had even been that of a prostitute," according to the words of the Abbess, "her death was that of a saint *."

It

Buonaparte's service. See Les Nouvelles a la Main, Ventose, year 12. p. 6. Fouquet, Talleyrand's former tutor, was one of the prisoners murdered in the Abbey prison, 1792.

[*] Le Miracles Carnales, &c. p. 13. In page 14. it is said, that

It is said that the Marquis sent Talleyrand a copy of the Abbess's letter, and was answered by this consummate hypocrite, " that ever since their separation, his prayers for her conversion had accompanied her, and he flattered himself with the hope that they had not been ineffectual. As to him, all his thoughts were fixed on the other world, and his sole study in this should be, for the future, to set the flock intruſted to his care, examples of devotion, worthy the high and holy dignity with which he had been honoured *." Such was his language to an offended and insulted husband. How widely different, both from his public life at Autun, and his private correspondence afterwards, with another mistress of his, the witty, lively, and accomplished Countess of F——hault; to whom he wrote from Versailles, under date of the 4th December, 1787, " that the two years of his exile at Autun were total blanks in his exiſtence, having

---

that Madame de M——— died of a broken heart in a convent at Amiens, in the same month the Marchioness died at Pavia, and that Talleyrand made another epigram on this occurrence, too infamous to be transcribed.

* See La Vie Laique, &c, p. 49.

all that time been dead to love, and, of course, to pleasure. Never, however," continued he, "was any heart more tender, or more deserving a female friend's consolation for the eternal *ennui* it was forced to endure at the altar, in the confessional, at my table, and particularly in my bed. My disgrace at court certainly influenced the behaviour of the females in my diocese, towards me greatly; but this I did not much regret, *having formerly known all those worth knowing*, none of whom left any impression, but of disgust and satiety. Even in the arms of love they were mothers, wives, and daughters; dress or interest; vanity or duty engaged their attention more than the voluptuousness of enjoyment. They went to bed as to the table, with the same orderly passions *." In another letter to this lady, from the same place, dated February 15, 1788, he writes: "You ask me where I have been acquainted with the young Baroness? In my cathedral, my friend! in the confessional, during my late triste exile at Autun. Her naïveté pleased me, and her confession convinced me, that, though only sixteen, her passions were near their maturity. I, therefore, invited her father, who is a widower, and true country squire, (*Campagnard*,) and his daughter, to pass a few days during the Lent in my palace. I asked her, when alone, if she loved? Without hesitation, she replied, *With all my heart, I love my Saviour!* And do you not love me? Yes, as his representative, and my *guide* to heaven! By such unmeaning nonsense I easily perceived that nothing was to be done, or that it would take up more of my time to do any thing, than I could conveniently spare. She finished our *tête á tête*, by demanding my blessing, and, taking her breviary from her pocket, asked me to point out those prayers which were most efficacious to resist the devil's temptations. This I did, but, I am sorry to say, the devil got the better of me, and they had not the desired effect, as I am informed that she married the old Baron only because she was pregnant by her father's footman *."

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés saisis dans leurs maisons, &c. chez Baudouin, Paris, an 2. or 1794. tom. iv. p. 6.

During his exile, Talleyrand wrote a memorial against the ex-minister, Necker's, financial arrangements, which he dedicated, and sent to M.

---

* See the same publication and volume, p. 7.

Calonne, who, with great difficulty, procured the king's permission for him to pass some few months in the capital. A man who deceives or betrays his mistress can never be faithful to his friend, or grateful to his benefactor. No sooner did M. de Calonne's favour at court decline, than Talleyrand libelled this minister, and published a refutation of his own memorial. This refutation, though anonymous, as well as the memorial, was his first introduction to the Necker family, whom he, some years afterwards, betrayed, calumniated, and deserted in their turn, when the tide of courtly and plebeian favour ran strong against them *."

In 1787 the well-meaning and patriotic Louis XVI, convoked an assembly of the notables of his kingdom, an expedient that had often been resorted to during the reigns of Francis I, and Henry IV; but the times were now changed. These notables, though nominated by the king, proved themselves, by their conduct, to be ignorant, weak, selfish, impolitic, and seditious. From the labours and reports of this assembly the nation, or rather the factious and disaffected, only

---

* La Politique d'un indigne Peregord; chez d'Antüe, Rue de la Harpe, Paris, 1792. p. 30.

learned the alarming deficiency of the old taxes, of which they all complained loudly; but not one of them had the magnanimity to propose a certain remedy, by recommending "that neither the clergy nor the nobility should be any longer exempt from the territorial impost or land tax." At this period Talleyrand was very assiduous in paying his respect to Louis XVIII, the present king of France and Navarre, then Monsieur; but it was particularly about the person of the late depraved and ill-advised Duke of Orleans, that this sycophant was daily and almost hourly seen; whose confidence he gained, but whose infamy and destruction he likewise prepared.

Both these princes of the blood were then popular, because they both, though from very different motives, recommended economy, as absolutely necessary to restore order to the finances of their country; and they both blamed the former profusion or corruption of ministers as the only cause of all the disasters and the sufferings of the people, as well as of the embarrassment of their king. The regular, moral, religious, unambitious, and severe Louis XVIII, sincerely wished for a reform, which, by lightening the burdens of the subjects, would increase their affection for their sovereign. He loved his brother and king; he loved his countrymen and mankind; and possessed a mind too well informed not to foresee, that when troubles distracted France, Europe could not remain quiet. He, therefore, employed all his influence to silence murmurs, to calm apprehension, and to console and relieve distress. The Duke of Orleans, whose private affairs, as well as those of most of his associates, were extremely deranged, was induced to hope, that by talking of reform, he might be able to effect a revolution; and, during that general overthrow, to find an opportunity of gratifying at once his lust for power and his love of money, his pecuniary wants, and his unnatural ambition *.

By those, who from a knowledge of his character, observed his conduct, Talleyrand was suspected, after the resignation and retreat of M. de Calonne, of having been paid by the prime minister, Cardinal de Brienne, to watch the parliament, by the parliament to watch the court, and by the court to watch both the parliament and the prime minister. He is said to have professed

---

* See the last pamphlet, p. 33.

friendship to, and received bribes from the Cardinal, at the same time that he was selling his secrets to his rivals, betraying his plans to his foes, and plotting to supplant him with his friends. The confidence reposed in him by parliament, he employed to involve it in disputes with the court; and the knowledge he had of the views of the court, was communicated to the leading members of parliament, to make all reconciliation impossible; that their mutual animosity might finally precipitate both in the same gulph. This abominable treason created a general mistrust, which, after two years of agitations, confusion, and discontent, obliged the unfortunate monarch to convoke those rebels of the states general, to whose crimes the present wretchednes of the world may truly and justly be ascribed, and on whom the curses of the remotest posterity inevitably will fall *.

Although Talleyrand's ambition was now rather to figure in the cabinet than in the boudoir, he neglected no occasion to insinuate himself into the favour of the fair sex. In the visible decline of his health, and in the sensible decay of his con-

---

* See the last pamphlet, p. 25.

stitution, he began, however, to suffer from the effects of early intemperance. "He could, therefore," as he wrote to the Countess de F——— —hault, "no longer enjoy the diversified voluptuousness of a numerous seraglio; but he wanted one female companion, whom he could with passion *adore* as a mistress, and with safety trust as a friend; who returned his affection, and was worthy of his confidence; who possessed the firm character of a man, with the amiable meekness of a woman; who, in being reasonable and not passionate, always spoke the language of passion, but never that of reason; who united genius with beauty, but from whose conversation it could not be inferred, that she was aware of either the charms of her person, or the worth of her mind. All these rare qualities, which I have searched for in vain these twenty years at court, in cities and in the provinces; in the palaces of the great, in the hotels of the rich, and in the cots of the humble, dearest Countess! I have found united in you. Let this *frank* and *sincere* assurance explain, what you call the enigma of my past inconstancy, and serve as a pledge for my future fidelity *."

---

* La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés saisis dans leur maisons, &c. tom. iv. p. 7.

After the ages of chivalrous gallantry had been succeeded by those of indelicate selfishness; egotism and avarice supplied the place of love, and women began to be bought or sold like other commodities. France, though ever affecting to despise the name of a commercial country, has long been accustomed, as publicly as Circassia, to dispose of her female youth and beauty, to infirmity and decrepitude, if recommended by wealth. There, as in most other *civilized* nations, innocence is sacrificed at the shrine of Pluto, and legal prostitution, sanctioned by custom, encouraged by example, and protected by the legislative as well as by the judicial power. The proverbial licentiousness of both sexes in France originates in nothing else. When women are certain of not being beloved, they lose all esteem of themselves. Their natural sensibility is soon changed into dangerous sensuality, and they gratify their passions, because they are unable to please their hearts. Such is the influence of the sexes on each other, that in no country do we find one corrupt and vicious, and the other moral and virtuous. But the continuance and progress of depravity may, in a great measure, be ascribed to men, as possessing most power. Did all fathers agree in ceasing to usurp an unnatural authority over their children, but guide instead of commanding their choice of partners for life, the whim or opposition of mothers would avail nothing. Some indiscreet matches might perhaps be concluded, but the celebration of nuptials would, in general, be those of love and affection; and the torch of Hymen would no more expose to pity or shame human victims, dragged to his altar as criminals to the scaffold.

According to a calculation in an *exposé* of the late French minister for the interior, Chaptal, "from 1792, when the regicide national convention decreed its law for *easy* divorces, to 1802, or during the ten years standing of this law, six-eighhts of the married people, in the French republic, had taken advantage of it, to break their odious, heavy or troublesome fetters. This," continues the same minister, "evinces the necessity of fixing new regulations to put a stop to the unjustifiable and scandalous tyranny of parents, and of regulating a new system for the education of children. When matrimonial infanticides cease, our tribunals will no longer be shocked by pronouncing sentences against vindictive parricides*."

---

* See Le Journal Statistique, Brumaire, an 12. p. 18.

It were to be wished, that France were the only country where similar laws of divorce produce similar effects.

The information the author had of the particulars of Talleyrand's connexion with the Countess of F——hault, has induced him to make the above remarks. This lady's irregularities excite rather compassion than censure, being, at the age of fifteen, given up to the arms of a husband of fifty, whom she saw, for the first time, on the day she was made his wife. She is descended of noble, but poor, parents, who had severely felt the want of fortune, and who, therefore, erroneously concluded that riches alone were necessary for the happiness of their two daughters. Agreeably to this notion, the eldest first left the convent, where she had been educated, on the very morning she was married to the Marquis of M—— gne, brother of the famous Madame de P——dour, the mistress of Louis XV; and the youngest did not quit the same retreat, or enter the world at all, but in giving her hand to the Count of F——hault. England is the *only* country where pecuniary damages are the punishment of the adulterer, and the indemnity for connubial infidelity. But had an action for crim. con. the consequence of a similar match, been brought against the adulterers, an English jury would, no doubt, notwithstanding the clearness of the proofs of criminality, have long hesitated in their determination. If the husband had a right to prosecute the adulterer in a court of law, who can deny the justice of the wife's cause, were she to bring an action for prostitution against her parents, and for seduction or rape against her husband *?

The Count of F——hault had, in his younger days, not led the most regular life. Being early possessed of an ample fortune, he denied himself no sort of pleasure, either at the table, or with the sex, and was therefore thought equally voluptuous and dissolute. Advancing in years, he pretended to be both a patron of men of letters and a *scavans* himself. This made him acquainted with the Marquis of M——gne, who kept an open table, where all persons, distinguished for their learning, or for their love of literature, were admitted. It was there he first heard of his wife. Desirous of adding the ties of consanguinity to those of friendship, he proposed himself to the Marquis for a brother-in-law, and in twenty-four hours he was married by Talleyrand de Peregord, Bishop of Autun*. The Count, more entertained among his books, in his private study, than with the harmless sallies of his wife in her boudoir, left her mistress there to receive the company she liked best. When Talleyrand meditates the gratification of his passions, his manners with either sex are insinuating, and his conversation agreeable. Vain of his birth, and presumptuous of his capacity, he generally makes those about him feel his consequence, and usurps a superiority, always humiliating, and often insupportable. When therefore his behaviour and language change, and he descends from being the tyrant, to become the companion of his associates or visitors,—let them be on their guard! In their number is certainly some person he intends to deceive, to degrade, or to ruin.

---

* See Les Miracles Carnales, &c. p. 16. Many of the particulars related here and in the following pages concerning the Count and Countess of F———hault, the author heard both from Talleyrand, and from the Countess herself.

Unexperienced and artless as the Countess was, he had little difficulty in making a favourable impression on her mind. Her husband, for the three first years of their marriage, seldom saw his wife, but at meals, and not always then; while Talleyrand followed her almost as her shadow, amused her when at home, and attended her abroad, to church, in her walks, to concerts, balls, or to plays. Though the motives of the lover are blameable, the neglect of the husband was inexcusable. Talleyrand indeed seduced her from her duty; but according to her own confession, he preserved her from becoming the talk and scandal of the town, by imitating the depraved examples of many ladies of her acquaintance and society, who changed their lovers almost as often as their dress*.

---

* See La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuse, tom. iii. p. 4.

Until his wife had been delivered of a son, during his absence in the country with the Marquis de M——gui, the Count lived, as if he still had been a bachelor. At his arrival in town, this son was already christened Charles, by Charles M. Talleyrand. This haste, and this name, with some other circumstances, awakened the Count's jealousy, or rather alarmed his pride.

---

* See La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuse, tom. iii. p. 5.

The ingenuous young Countess concealed from nobody that this child was called after, and baptized by his father[*]. The Bishop therefore was desired to discontinue his visits, and the Count carried his lady, one hundred and fifty miles from Paris, to an estate, where she continued to correspond with her lover, who advised her to conceal her chagrin, as the sureſt means of shortening their separation[†].

Count de F——hault, entirely engrossed by learned researches, in conversing with his wife, was agreeably surprized to discover in her, for the first time, after four years marriage, not only genius, but a genius highly improved by reading; and, upon inquiry, found that he was indebted to her lover for these and other accomplishments. This lessened, in his philosophical eyes, their mutual offence; and as the Countess, always guided by Talleyrand, conducted herself so as to regain the confidence of her husband, she was, after four months' absence, restored to the capital. By being more prudent or discreet, and by humouring the Count by associating with him in his favourite occupation among his books, she imperceptibly acquired useful knowledge, and shortly recovered her former liberty of associating with her lover, whose insinuation so gained upon the Count, that, in a few weeks, he was as much regarded by the husband, as he was beloved by the wife*.

---

[*] See La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuse, tom. iii. p. 6. and Les Miracles Carnales, &c. p. 18. This son came over to this country in 1792 with his mother, and was deaf. By the generosity of Mr. Burke Mr. Windham and other gentlemen, who, with so much humanity, interested themſelves for the unfortunate Emigrants, he was taken care of at an Emigrant free school, cured of his complaint, and educated until 1799, when he returned to France, and by Talleyrand's recommendation was made an aide-de-camp to Lewis Bonaparte; in which capacity he accompanied him to Berlin in 1800. Count de F——hault, truſting to Talleyrand's spy, Mehel de la Fouche, was betrayed by him, and guillotined in 1793. Charles de F——hault is expected to be the heir to Talleyrand's immense fortune, as an *indemnity*, no doubt for, his birth, and the murder of his mother's husband.

[†] See Les Miracles Carnales, &c. p. 19.

The deranged state of Talleyrand's finances, his passion for gambling, as well as for women, brought him frequently into disagreeable difficulties, and necessitated him to resort to expedients not always honest or honourable. The first proof he demanded of the Count's friendship was a loan of 60,000 livres (2,500l.) to pay off an execution in his house. Financial considerations usually accompanied, and were almost inseparable, from his amorous intrigues. He had no mistress to whom, or to whose husband, he was not indebted for pecuniary succours, whose purse, as well as reputation, he had not attempted to ruin. Never delicate in procuring himself money, it was nothing to him if his mistress, in consequence, reduced herself to distress; or if, in supplying his extravagance, she suffered in her credit and character. Selfish in love as well as in friendship, if his passions were satisfied, he was indifferent whether his pleasures were purchased at the expence of the honour of his mistress, or of the happiness of his friend *.

---

* La Politique d'un Indigne Peregord, &c. p. 32.

The five years before the revolution, which he passed as the *bon ami* of the Countess of F——hault, he called *sa vie reglée*, or that period of his life when he was most regular, having no other *known* mistress, except the wife of the rich banker G——, who died, poisoned either by herself, in discovering Talleyrand's infidelity, after robbing her husband of 200,000 livres (8000l.) for a promise to serve him, or by Talleyrand to get rid of his obligation, and to bury his debt in oblivion, or by the husband from revenge or jealousy. Talleyrand breakfasted with her on the day of her death, and they were heard to quarrel. Immediately after he went away, the husband entered, and had some high words with her. In a quarter of an hour afterwards, when her maid was dressing her, she suddenly changed colour, fell down, and expired, exclaiming, "*Je suis empoisonné* *!"

---

* La Politique d'un Indigne Peregord, p. 33.

Not satisfied with borrowing or rather swindling money from his mistresses, he had, ſeveral years before the revolution, associated himself with some brokers, stock-jobbers, and usurers, for the purpose of making speculations in the public funds, and of lending money to young spendthrifts, masters of, or heirs to large fortunes. But he was yet a novice among the French financial rogues, who enriched themselves by using his name, and abusing his connections, and in leaving him to bear their losses without sharing their profit, involved him in fresh debts, according to report, to the amount of 1,200,000 livres, 50,000 l.* Despised, and overwhelmed with debt, the Duke of Orleans and his party seemed to be his only resource, a resource that was always open to political adventurers, of vicious propensities, of desperate fortunes, or of degraded characters. By engaging in acts and deeds so opposite to his duty as a prelate, and so disgraceful to him as a nobleman, he was forbid the court and the presence of his relatives; and the revolution found him equally destitute of property and probity, with the loss of the favour of his sovereign, of the affection and regard of his family, and of the esteem of every good man among his contemporaries †.

---

* See La Politique d'un Indigne Peregord, p. 33. and 34. and La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuse, tom. iii. p. 8. In the note it is said that the husband by money prevented the police from inquiring after the particulars of this death; but that he afterwards challenged Talleyrand, who refused to fight, and was therefore publickly caned by him in the *Rue de Vivienne*, near the Palais Royal.

Many are supposed to be the causes of a revolution in which Talleyrand has played such a conspicuous part. But its origin, crimes, and progress may, with most colour of probability, be ascribed to a secret, sophistical, and anti-religious sect, long nourished in the academies liar malignity, as an ostentatious and useless mode of squandering the treasure of the people *.

---

* La Politique d'un Indigne Peregord, p. 40.

† The same pamphlet, and the same page.

The national and hereditary presumption of most Frenchmen, their overweening, but imposing self importance, their captivating address, their easy readiness of repartee, their quick penetration, their natural, and unaffected duplicity, and their artful flexibility to circumstances, have, ever since civilized governments agreed to, and fixed laws and rules of etiquette for a regular communication between the different members of the European commonwealth, made their country renowned for able ministers, and dreaded for crafty and immoral intriguers. Spain may be proud of her Ximenes, and Sweden of her Oxenstierna; but these kingdoms have since descended from a primary to a secondary rank, and these

---

* Since the economists Talleyrand, Roederer, &c. have became Buonaparte's titled slaves, commerce and manufactories are annihilated, taxes increased a hundred-fold, and the expences of the mock emperor, during the first year of his usurpation, amounted to 3,000,000 of livres more than the expence of Louis XVI, his family, and relations, during his eighteen years reign! The lands are cultivated by old men or women; all young men being sent to the army or navy; such is the effect of the plans of innovaters. Les Nouvelles a la Main, Frimaire, year xiii, p. 4.

great statesmen, may, therefore, be said to have left no posterity; whilst Mazarin, Louvois, Fleury, Choiseul and other successors of Cardinal Richelieu, in the direction of the cabinet of Versailles, have not only prevented the decrease of the real power, and relative influence of France, but, by a regular, systematic, though often imperceptible plan, terminated no war, however disastrous, but by some direct or indirect advantage. The peace of Utrecht, of 1713, settled one branch of the Bourbons in Spain, and, even the peace of Paris, of 1763, was followed by the conquest of Corsica; by civil commotions in Holland, and by an insurrection in America; though England, at that time, could boast of her Chatham, Austria of her Kaunitz, Prussia of her Frederic the Great, Russia of her Catherine II, Sweden of her Gustavus III, and Denmark of her Bernstorff.

These occurences were chiefly the consequences of the machinations and efforts of inferior intriguers; because, after the resignation of Choiseul in 1770, the ministerial helm of France was in the hands of ignorant or corrupted courtiers, that were often governed by profligate prostitutes, and scandalous adulteresses, their own, or the mistresses of the enervated Louis XV. The ill-advised, well-meaning, and good Louis XVI, duped by their hypocritical jargon and *patriotic* rhodomontade, admitted some of these subaltern schemers into his councils. They promoted their associates, and the offices of government were soon filled with, and the secrets of state entrusted, by turns, to the political secretaries of a St. Germain, of a Turgot, of a De Brienne, and of a Necker, ministers, who, as well as Talleyrand, were impolitic, fanatical, or treacherous economists, whose maxims were destined to commence their active and cruel operation during the reign of the best and most virtuous of kings. It was a remarkable fatality, that the very virtues of this amiable and unhappy prince contributed to his destruction. Every circumstance of his reign, which, according to the calculations of probability, should have given stability to his dominion, tended to its dissolution, and his own ruin. His zeal in economical reform, while it diminished the state burthens, and was even supposed sufficient to absorb the expences of a war without new taxes, tended only to weaken his power, by diminishing his influence, and removing from the eyes of his vain, fickle, and wicked people, the splendid pageantry, in which they so much delighted; while it left unsatisfied their extravagant expectations of relief from all burthens, and authorised them, from a consideration of what was suppressed, to cavil at that which remained. The American war, in which Louis XVI was advised to join, and to assist revolted subjects against their legitimate sovereign, was another misfortune productive of the most calamitous consequences. The command of fleets and armies, in a contest destined to carry into execution the schemes of rebellious subjects, professedly attempting to found a republic, in which neither titles, hereditary functions, nor an established priesthood should find a place, was not given to men of long tried character and known allegiance, but to individuals, whose misconduct, during the German war, had rendered them objects of suspicion, or whose youth and inexperience, joined to presumption and arrogance, proved them, on their return, to be turbulent, factious, and dangerous.

The finance department was, at the same time, entrusted to the empiric Necker, a French economist, but an alien to the land, an enemy to its religion, and a republican by principles as well as by birth. He confirmed, in an inquisitive and insolent people, the habit of examining, by general theories, and by garbled statements alone, the expences and revenues of the state; and when dismissed, his errors and his artifices had equally contributed to involve his successor in difficulty and danger. Thus the American war left France plunged in debt and speculation, open to all the attempts of financial projectors, the reveries of political reformers, and the assaults of atheistical and republican incendiaries.

When, therefore, the king convoked the states-general in 1789, every thing was in a ferment, and all the materials ready to produce a total overthrow; a center and supplies, the great requisites of a political faction, aiming at important atchievements, were only wanting and these were found in Paris, in the wealth, rank, profligacy, and turbulence of the Duke of Orleans. This man, himself a member of the royal family, nourished in his heart, an unnatural rancorous antipathy against the reigning branch. Regardless

less of character, and yet ambitious of fame, he was surrounded by Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Sillery, Sieyes, and other depraved companions, and literary parasites, who led him, with rapid steps, to promote the aims of the anti-religious and anti-social innovators. To the Orleans faction Talleyrand owed his nomination as a deputy to the states-general, since called the constituent assembly.

After a lapse of 175 years, the states-general met at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion. The deputies, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and followed by the king, repaired to the temple of the Deity amidst an immense crowd, who offered up vows for the success of their endeavours to reform and regenerate the state. The splendour and variety of the robes of the two orders added greatly to the brilliancy of the spectacle; for the dignified clergy were dressed in a style of grandeur suited to their respective ranks, being adorned with scarfs, crosses, and crosiers; while the nobility were decorated, as in the days of chivalry, with flowing mantles, covered with lace, plumes of feathers waving in the air, stars and ribbands,

bands, calculated to produce a theatrical effect; and swords glittering with gold and diamonds. Alas! these orders little expected or supposed that this ceremony was their political *Auto da fé*, and that the faggots of revolutionary incendiaries were already lighted, and would shortly consume, with their rank, privilege, and property, every person of honour and probity, within their reach in France!

Having returned to the hall, the king, who was seated in a magnificent alcove, with the queen on his left hand, and the princes and princesses of the blood around him, delivered an appropriate discourse, in a loud and distinct voice, with all the confidence of an orator accustomed to address a numerous assembly. To console the loyal, to confound the disaffected, and to do honour to the memory of the best of kings, this speech cannot be too often repeated, at least some parts of it should never be excluded by any author writing on the revolution, faithful to his God, and to his king, who detests rebels and abhors regicides. "The day," said his majesty, "is at length arrived, which my heart has so long panted to behold, and now I find myself surrounded by the representatives of a nation, which it is my glory to command. A long interval hath elapsed since the last convocation of the states-general; but although these assemblies have not, for some time, been held, I have not been dissuaded by the example of my late predecessors from re-establishing a custom by which the nation may earnestly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional source of happiness.

" A very general discontent, and a too eager desire for innovation, have taken hold of the minds of the people, and will end in misleading their judgment, if they do not hasten to fix it by wise and moderate counsels. It is in this *confidence*, gentlemen, that I now assemble you; and I rejoice to think that the measure has been justified by those dispositions which *the two first orders of the state* have shewn, *to renounce their own pecuniary privileges.* The hope which I have cherished, to see all the orders *unite and concur with me* in wishes for the public good, will, I am certain, not be deceived. I have already *ordered very considerable retrenchments in respect to my own expences*;

you will, moreover, furnish me with your sentiments on the subject, which I shall receive most gladly: but, in spite of the resources, *which the strictest economy can suggest*, I fear, gentlemen, that I shall not be able to *relieve my subjects so soon as I could wish.*

"The public spirit is in a ferment, but an assembly of the representatives of the nation will certainly hearken to no other counsels, than those founded on wisdom and prudence. *You, yourselves*, gentlemen, *have been able to judge*, on many recent occasions, *that the people have been misguided*; but the spirit which will animate your deliberations, will also evince the true sentiments of a *generous* nation, whose *distinguished* character has been *the love of their prince.* I shall banish from me every other sentiment.

"I know the authority and power of a just king surrounded by a *faithful* people, *at all times* attached to the principles of monarchy; these have occasioned the glory and splendour of France; I ought, and I ever shall support them. But *whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the public good, whatever can be asked from*

from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me.

"May a happy union reign in this assembly! and may this epocha become ever memorable by the felicity and prosperity of the country! *It is the wish of my heart; it is the most ardent desire of my prayers; it is, in short, the price which I expect for the sincerity of my intentions, and my love for my people.*"

Such was the patriotic language, and such were the pure and magnanimous sentiments of a legitimate king born with unlimited power, whom Frenchmen have barbarously murdered to place his crown on the guilty head of a foreign usurper and tyrant, the assassin and poisoner of their countrymen! The atrocity and infamy of these two acts are without parallel in history.

When his majesty had ended a speech, several passages of which were received with a marked applause, the keeper of the seals, M. Barentin, arose, and paid many just compliments to the monarch, who had listened to the public voice in convoking the states-general. He also enlarged on the advantage of a limited government, equally removed from absolute monarchy on the one hand,

and anarchy and republicanism on the other. The comptroller-general of the finances, Necker, succeeded M. Barentin, and, in a speech of great length, insisted on the necessity of directing the principal attention of the assembly to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged; but he at the same time reduced the *deficit* to fifty-six millions of livres, 2,300,000l. which he affected to consider as a trifle for a great and opulent nation. His harangue, however, gave satisfaction to no party. The two first orders, with reason, deemed it alike unfavourable to their rank and their privileges; and the third estate was astonished that nothing was said of liberty, reform, and a new constitution; and all were surprised, that, in respect to the great and important question of deliberation by poll, or by chambers, the speech of Necker was dark and ambiguous.

Although Mirabeau and Necker were irreconcileable enemies, Talleyrand had the art to remain upon intimate terms with them both. He was the confidant of the latter, and the friend of the former; if men, plotting the ruin of their country, and of equally vicious propensities, can be called friends. It was according to his ideas and advice, that the speech of the comptroller-general had been worded and composed. As this official discourse was the first blow aimed at the popularity of this purse-proud man, many believed, at this time, that Talleyrand had previously planned with Mirabeau his disgrace and removal from the head of the financial department, in hopes to succeed to his place; and when once, a member of the king's council could oblige, by his intrigues, M. de Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs, to resign an office, the aim and ambition of Mirabeau, ever since his nomination as a deputy of the states-general, it might easily induce him to expect, that the court, from dread of his eloquence and immorality, would purchase his talents, or quiet his turbulence by a place or pension *.

Never did any people, either ancient or modern, when at perfect liberty to nominate their representatives, select such a set of profligate men, as those who represented the French nation in its several assemblies. Even many of those who were of respectable families, and had

---

* Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, chez Duchesnes, 1792, p. 3.

some property, could otherwise claim no regard for their religious and moral principles, having professed and published doctrines, perverting or undermining the faith in a Divinity, and the allegiance sworn to an hereditary monarch, and having, like Talleyrand, by their vicious lives proved the sincerity of their professions. The most impertinent, and at the same time, the most ridiculous pretensions to dignity and wealth, to authority and advancement, were the *primum mobile* of all their actions, and the sole aim of all their machinations. As the king had it not in his power to exalt them all to the rank and grandeur of princes, ministers, governors, generals, admirals, bishops, judges, presidents, &c. &c. they determined to reduce rank, eminence, and merit, to a level with themselves *.

Accordingly, the third estate began on the very day the ſtates-general met, to plan the degradation of the two first orders, the natural and exclusive supporters of the throne and the altar, by forcing them, contrary to former ancient and invariable customs, to unite and deliberate with them in the same hall; or which was the same thing, to be governed and dictated to by their vast majority; to remain mere cyphers in their presence, sanctioning, without means of opposing, the most dangerous, as well as the most violent determinations. Had they not been aware their cause would be supported by many traitorous accomplices, both among the clergy and nobility, whom the Orleans faction had bought over to their interest, the conspirators would not, at so early a stage of their proceedings, have ventured to shew so much audacity. But Talleyrand, Sieyes, Gregoire, and others among the former, and Orleans, La Fayette, the brothers La Metes, Montesquieu, with their partisans among the latter, either betrayed the confidential discussions of their orders, or publicly opposed the wish and resolution of the majority by joining the seditious commons. At laſt, on the 27th of June the faithful minority of the clergy, and the loyal majority of the nobles, at the express recommendation of the king, repaired to the hall of the states-general, now called a national assembly.

---

* Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionnaire, chez Duchesnes, 1792, p. 4.

When the kings of France, Henry IV. Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. caused a Duke of Biron, a Prince de Chalais, and a Duke de Montmorency,

rency, after being fairly tried, and lawfully condemned, to perish on the scaffold for conspiracy and rebellion, they were stigmatised by the factious, discontented, and ignorant part of all nations with the appellations of tyrants. Few historians, if any, have dared to declare, that these traitors to their respective sovereigns deserved their fate, or that by permitting justice to take its course, these kings and their ministers, most probably prevented a revolution, or at least a civil war, in which thousands must have perished.

Had Louis XVI. followed in 1789 the advice of his best well-wishers, most trusty counsellors, and most disinterested dutiful subjects, and made a summary example of twenty of the principal rebels of the states-general, which he then might have done, an unjust posterity would doubtless have called him a tyrant; and the conspirators who suffered, would have been held up to admiration as *patriots*, and victims to the cause of *liberty*. By this time we are, however, too well convinced, that such an act of vigour and justice, would not only have preserved his own life, and the lives of his queen, his son, and sister, but would also have prevented sixteen years of revolutions, twelve years of war and misery, and the loss of millions of lives. And these men, who were then noted as rebels, have, by their subsequent conduct proved their guilt, and that no punishment inflicted on them could have been too severe.

According to a pamphlet called "*Les Candidats de la Potence* *," the following were the persons Louis XVI. was advised, and even pressed in June, 1789, to deliver over to the hands of the public executioner Samson, as the only means to prevent the ruin of France.

The Duke of Orleans, guillotined by his regicide accomplices in November, 1793.

The Duke of Biron, after having served the assassins of his virtuous king, guillotined by them in December, 1793.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, in Auguſt, 1792, murdered in his carriage by the side of his wife, by his new sovereign, the mob.

---

* Les Candidats de la Potence, printed by Feraud, Paris, 1791. In the preface is said, that it was written by a president of parliament, and given to the Duchess of Polignac, who presented it to the king and queen, but that both their majesties disapproved of it, though it proves and defends the necessity of such a *grand coup d'etat* to ſave monarchy and France.

The Duke of Liancourt, an unworthy and faithless friend of Louis XVI. now a submissive slave and debased prefect under Buonaparte.

The Duke d'Aiguillon, starved to death as an emigrant in Germany, after betraying his king, and his order in France.

The Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand de Peregord, who, after selling himself to, and betraying all factions, is now the grand vizir of the sultan of faction, Buonaparte.

Abbé Sieyes, who, after repeatedly swearing allegiance to Louis XVI. joined his assassins to murder him, and after numerous oaths to liberty and equality, is now the slavish senator of a Corsican tyrant, who has annihilated both liberty and equality.

Abbé Gregoire, another apostate priest, who, after voting for the death of Louis XVI. *because kings were monsters in the political world*, is the slave and senator of Buonaparte, the most ferocious and barbarous monster, either in the political, moral, or physical world.

Marquis de la Fayette, by turns serving and betraying his king and the sovereign people, after eight years imprisonment and proscription, the proclaimer of the rights of man, now the passive slave of a despicable Corsican adventurer.

The Marquis of Montesquieu, who, after deserting his king, was deserted and proscribed by the sovereign people; forced to emigrate, and lived long enough to see a foreigner the tyrant of France.

The Marquis de Sillery, beheaded in 1793 by his accomplices of the regicide national convention.

Count de Mirabeau, who, after conspiring against the court, sold himself to the court, and was poisoned by the jacobins, *pantheonised* by them in 1790, and *depantheonised* by them in 1793. Marat succeeded him in the Pantheon; and both their ashes were afterwards mixed together in the common sewer of *Montmartre* at Paris.

Viscount Noailles, deserted his king and benefactor, joining the mob, was proscribed in 1792; emigrated to England, and was afterwards made a general by Buonaparte, and sent to St. Domingo; he was killed in an engagement with an English cutter.

Viscount Custine, a traitor to his king, and in 1793 dragged to execution by the sovereign people, for whom he had fought and conquered.

Alexander and Charles Lamethe, educated at the expence of Louis XVI. whom they betrayed; equally despicable and despised by all parties, Buonaparte took them into favour, and made them his pachas, under the name of prefects.

La Tour Maubourg, after betraying his king, outlawed by the sovereign people, until the Corsican tyrant of the sovereign people recalled him from his exile. The general under Louis XVI. is now a colonel under Buonaparte, formerly a sub-lieutenant under Louis XVI.

Bailly, the mayor of Paris, guillotined in 1793 by his sovereign, the Parisian mob.

Barnave, guillotined in 1793, for having sold himself to the court, after having for years conspired against the court.

Petion, starved to death in a wood, after being outlawed by the national convention, which owed its existence to his crimes and perjury.

The Marquis Condorcet, who, outlawed by Robespierre's faction, poisoned himself when discovered in 1793.

Robespierre, who, after inundating France with blood, and filling her with dungeons and scaffolds, perished in 1794, in his turn, by the hands of his accomplices and slaves.

Let any impartial man, after reading through this list, pronounce and declare, if it contains a single name of any individual, whose execution in 1789 would not have been a benefit to society *.

What can be the reason, that in all countries, and at different periods, when any civil commotions break out, the same names amongst the discontented and seditious nobles are usually read or heard of? It must be ascribed to historians, who instead of exposing to detestation their crimes, which no rank or fortune can palliate, represent their conduct as misguided patriotism, and from a regard to certain families, conceal truth, or render it doubtful. Their descendants, therefore, think it an honour, and

---

* The remarks following each name are not contained in the last mentioned pamphlet.

perhaps a duty, to be foremost among the discontented or disaffected, and to continue the hereditary and direct opposers of the government of their country, however just it may be. The La Rochefoucaults, the Montmorencies, the Birons, the La Fayettes, the Talleyrands, and others, are found among the rebels against Louis XVI. as their ancestors ranked among those against former kings. Some of this rebellious posterity have already received from the hands of their sovereign mob a just punishment for the treason committed against their lawful monarch, while their accomplices undergo a still severer chastisement, by being constrained to bow beneath the iron sceptre of a contemptible, upstart, and barbarous usurper, in witnessing that rebellion, which, to gratify their ambition and cupidity, they began in the name of liberty, terminated, as such rebellions generally do, *in the most degrading and abject slavery.*

The revolution now began to take a turn, which neither its adherents or opposers expected. The enormous crimes committed, not only with impunity but with audacity, every where alarmed the former, and terrified the latter. Talleyrand, however, considered a total subversion and anarchy as the only mean to arrange his private affairs, and even as an opportunity to recover a kind of consideration. This made him declare himself early in favour of the popular party, and never desert the Orleans faction, until the court was under the necessity of buying him over. His name and dignity procured him a certain influence over some members of his order, and his example seduced a great number of the inferior clergy. Though, possessing talents, and a great facility in composition, his excessive immorality made him forget, that his continual fluctuation and inconsistency would finally convince every body, that he knew no other laws than those of self-interest, and had no other principles than those that led to make his fortune, or to obtain advancement *.

On the 6th and 7th of July, 1789, he proposed in long speeches, to declare void the contents of the instructions, which the members of the national assembly had received from their constituents. Some few days afterwards he spoke

---

* See Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 5, and Dictionnaire Biographique, vol. iii. art. Talleyrand.

in favour of comedians, of Jews, and of the public executioners, to all of whom he proposed, by a formal decree, to give the rights of active citizens. On the 20th of August the national assembly, according to his motion, adopted an article, which declared all citizens, *without distinction or exception*, admissible to public employments; so that an hangman might hope to be a chief justice, and a strolling player an archbishop. Three days afterwards he opposed any mention being made of the worship in the declaration of the rights of man; and insisted that it was only in the constitutional code, where any thing concerning *the sacred and holy Roman Catholic religion should be inserted*. On the 27th of the same month, and on the 10th of October, he spoke for a considerable time on the finances of France. He acknowledged the necessity of a new loan, but urged also the spoliation of the estates and lands of the clergy, which he insisted was both juſt and expedient *.

In the conciliabula of the Orleans faction Mirabeau proposed, and the conspirators agreed, that Talleyrand should be fixed upon to bring forward in the national assembly a motion of confiscation, or to declare the possessions of the clergy national property. The motive which actuated Mirabeau, in this instance, was twofold: by means of one degraded and apostate prelate, he intended to humble the whole body of the French clergy; and by making him the mover of the question, to silence, if not to remove, the scruples of a vast majority of the nation, who, he well knew, even in the then perverted state of France, would look upon such an unheard of pillage as nothing less than a sacrilege *.

---

* See Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 6, and Dictionnaire Biographique, vol. iii. art. Talleyrand.

Accordingly, on the 2d of November, Talleyrand, with an hypocritical solemnity, ascended the tribune, and produced his motion. After ten hours of debate it was carried by a numerous majority, and the national assembly decreed the confiscation and sale of the property of the French clergy, notwithstanding their offer to advance, for the arrangement of the finances of their country, four hundred millions of livres, 16,000,000l.; a sum more than sufficient to restore the balance, and establish the credit of the royal treasury.

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasqué chez Rose, an 3. 1795. p. 6.

Foreign nations regarded these great events with aſtonishment, but with various degrees of sympathy, proportioned to the nature of their own government, and their apprehensions of the ultimate result. In this country the capture of the Bastille *, the attempt to establish a free constitution, founded on a trial by jury, and the liberty of the press, could not fail to meet general applause. The cruelties which followed the destruction of that hated fortress, though they made a strong impression, were generously imputed to popular error; and rather deplored than severely censured. But the subsequent plunder, and burning of *chateaux* in the provinces, and the murder, and even torture of their owners, the first cause of emigration, could by no arts be so excused as to obtain the sanction of an humane, generous, and free people.

The pillage of the privileged classes (according to the proposal of Viscount de Noailles), and indeed of all landed proprietors, by the decree of the 4th of August, and that which followed against the lands and revenues of the clergy, after Talleyrand's motion on the 2d November, gave alarm to all men, who seriously viewed the nature of property, and saw with how much facility the arguments which rendered that robbery popular, might be applied by the needy, idle, and wicked in any country, to every kind of depredation. The abominable occurrences on the 5th and 6th of October, when Louis XVI. his queen, children, and relatives, were dragged from their palace at Versailles, and carried as prisoners to Paris amidst the mangled bodies and heads of their moſt faithful servants upon pikes; were viewed here with still greater horror and regret. Those who were content to see the authority of the French monarch abridged, were shocked at the unprincipled ferocity and brutality with which his degradation to the state of a captive was precipitated; nor could all the artifice of palliation, nor all the untruths profusely published by the perpetrators and their accomplices, in vindication of these events, alter the well-founded opinion of their moral enormity and political portent. The opinion, at first rashly and benevolently entertained, that oppression had driven a loyal and long suffering people to resistance, gradually yielded to a conviction of their insatiable love of blood and plunder, and to a demonstration that their own complaints and grievances did not form the ground of their efforts, but that they were mischievous tools in the hands of a desperate faction, and that their dishonesty and cruelty were the principal engines to be used in reducing the court and the kingdom to passive subjection, through the double terrors of poverty and assassination.

---

* According to the registers of the Bastille, published in 1789 by the French rebels, there had been confined in that prison, so decried, only 300 persons in the course of three centuries. During 18 months of Robespierre's reign 250,000 persons were shut up in the state prisons; and during the five years of Buonaparte's *mild* reign, the temple alone has contained 9,500 prisoners! See Les Nouvelles a la Main, Frimaire, year 13. No. I. p. 2.

Talleyrand seemed about this period particularly attentive to the financial affairs of his country, but he declared himself strongly against the plans presented by Necker to the national assembly, instead of which he recommended state-bills (*billets d'etat*). This recommendation, notwithstanding this assembly's previous and solemn declaration, "that the creditors of state were placed under the *protection* of the *honour* and *loyalty* of the French nation," was not listened to, because it could not be expected to meet with success among monied men, who, from the reeking ashes of their burnt houses, and from the unpunished pillage of their property, began to know how to appreciate the *protection*, as well as the *honour* and *loyalty* both of the French nation and its representatives *. Subsequent events have justified their fears; since that period *the great nation* has condescended to make no less than four fraudulent bankruptcies, to the detriment and ruin of millions of duped Frenchmen, and deluded foreigners.

Towards the latter part of November, he was appointed by the national assembly, one of its commissioners to examine into the real situation of the *Caisse d'Escompte* or discount-bank, established by Necker during the American war, and exclusively favoured by this minister; and in January, 1790, he became a member of the committee of imposts. It was he who digested the famous address to the French nation in February the same year, which the national assembly then ordered to be published, to remind the people both of what its *patriotic* labours had already produced for them, and the grand atchievement it was still preparing. This address is very curious, whether we consider the subsequent conduct of its author, or the short duration of all those *eternal* institutions and *philosophical* innovations, which were held out as so many *invaluable* benefits to the nation. During the same month he was for the first time elected president of the national assembly.

---

* Some of Talleyrand's accomplices proposed, about that time, to Louis XVI. to appoint the bishop a minister of the finances. This prince answered: *Non! Talleyrand n'ira jamais droit!* alluding, no doubt, to his mental perversity, as well as bodily infirmity of being lame.

The mobs rising every where, and on every occasion, and threatening the most frantic violences; the tumultuous proceedings of the national assembly; the seduction of the soldiery; the undisguised resistance to authority; and the manœuvres, clamours, and calumnies against the king and queen, may truly be ascribed to the Duke of Orleans, to Mirabeau, Talleyrand, and other subordinate agents or venal mercenaries of the same faction. This is evident, because when after the barbarous scenes at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, La Fayette, by a temporary exertion of firmness, forced the Duke of Orleans to undertake a journey to this country; a state a state of moderate tranquillity immediately ensued, which seemed to augur better days. But this happy prospect was again clouded by the rashness and folly of Bailly, who, in proposing the solemn foppery of a confederation, revived the means and motives of insurrection, and afforded a leader of the principal party a pretext to revisit France. The day for this confederation was fixed for the 14th of July, as the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. Talleyrand, in his capacity of a *revolutionary patriarch*, was *entrusted* by the municipality of Paris, to officiate pontifically in the splendid ceremony on this occasion in the *Champ de Mars*. He appeared at the head of more than two hundred apostate priests, like himself dressed in white linen, and adorned with the colours of rebellion, the tri-coloured ribands. When about to officiate, a storm of wind took place, followed by a deluge of rain. A true atheist, he proceeded, however, in the celebration of the mass, without any regard to an event which many minds would have considered ominous, and afterwards pronounced a *benediction* and consecration on the royal standard of France, and on the eighty-three banners of the departments which waved around it, before the altar of the country. What a pontiff, what a benediction, and what an altar!

But, even the day of confederation would have been marked with disastrous events, had sufficient time remained after the return of the Duke of Orleans. The want of preparation in his party, the zeal of the deputies of the confederation from the departments, and particularly those of Brittany, presented, however, too strong a barrier about the throne, for a momentary exertion of force to shake it; and the seduction of so large a body could not be effected without leisure for concerting the means. Besides, during the duke's absence in England, several of his principal agents had either been bought over by, or were negotiating with the court, to desert, if not to betray him. Among the latter was Talleyrand, who, as nothing had yet been settled with the court, could not be much pleased with the sudden arrival of his patron at Paris, from an apprehension of losing, in case of a discovery, the wages already due to his past infamy [*].

---

[*] La Faction d'Orleans demasqué, p. 7, and La Politique d'un Indigne Perigord, p. 43.

Among other mock ceremonies on the day of confederation, Talleyrand administered to the representatives of the people, and to the federal deputies sent by the departments, a new oath, the fourth within twelve months, of fidelity to the nation, to the king, and to the law. In this solemn oath, by which the French bound themselves, the credulous thought they beheld the return of domestic tranquillity; but the more penetrating anticipated only a scene of vast and unqualified perjury. Some apprehended, that the sovereign would attempt to regain a portion of the authority wrested from him; and it was still with more reason dreaded, that his ungrateful subjects would not be satisfied with the advantages they had acquired. The people heard with distrust the assurances of the prince; and while he was anxious only to preserve the little power that had been left him, the multitude were instructed to consider the rights they had asserted as precarious in their duration, unless fortified with the ruins of the throne. The conduct of the people was, however, ungenerous and illiberal to the highest degree. Louis XVI. began his reign with the sincere project of effecting a substantial reform throughout the administration; and history will relate with tears, that amidst various, and the most terrible scenes of misfortune, he remained faithful to that project to his last hour, and strove to realise the fair vision that had sprung from his excellent heart. Hence his readiness in attending to the bold plans of improvement by Turgot, as well as to the brilliant but delusive promises of a Necker. Hence his inducement to convoke the notables and the states-general, after an improved system of administration, maturely weighed and adopted with ardour, had been drawn up under his inspection. Hence his voluntary renunciation of power, his resignation during his sufferings, and his firmness on the scaffold.

Although Talleyrand was so often occupied with plots and conspiracies, with pronouncing revolutionary speeches, with producing revolutionary reports, with composing revolutionary addresses, and with celebrating revolutionary festivities, he found time enough to intrigue with the sex, and to communicate with his female friend, the Countess of F——hault, to whom he wrote regularly when he could not visit her. On the 15th of July, 1790, she received the following letter, written on the same day at 8 o'clock in the morning: "If you are as well gratified with your place at the ridiculous fête of yesterday, as I was with seeing and admiring you where you were seated, you must have supported the storm and the deluge with the same philosophy as your friend. Had not the Duke of Orleans forced me to pass the evening with him, I intended to have seen you last night, and to unbosom my mind concerning the occurrences of this day, which have made so many different and opposite impressions. For my part, I do not know, *entre nous*, whom to pity the most, the sovereign or the subjects, France or Europe. Should the prince confide in the affection of the people he is undone; and should the people not mistrust the character of their prince, torrents of blood will be required for years to wash off a licentious enthusiasm of some few months, and the innocent must be involved in the same ruin with the guilty. In either case the tranquillity or liberty of Europe will suffer. Far be it from me to suspect Louis XVI. of being blood-thirsty; but a weak king, surrounded with bad counsellors, easily becomes a cruel one, or, which is the same, from weakness or seduction, permits them to exercise cruelties under the protection of his name and authority. In whatever light, therefore, I regard the consequences of the events of yesterday I shudder, particularly since my interview with the duke. No crimes are too atrocious for his ambitious and vindictive heart to conceive. Fortunately for my country he wants courage and resolution to execute with his hand the horrid conceptions of his head.

" Mirabeau is now as disgusted with him as I am myself. We have frequently great difficulty in concealing the contempt he inspires. Sieyes seems, however, always the same, always cringing, approving, or advising. He is jealous of us, and mistrusts us, but we are too much upon our guard to give him reason to suspect, before it is ripe, our intention of leaving him and his hero where we found them. He asked me, with a sardonical sneer, in the presence of the whole company, consisting of sixteen, how I could retain my gravity in performing so adroitly the *buffoonery* in the *Champ de Mars*, and to how many christians, among the 100,000 spectators, I thought I administered the *national christian oath?* Upon declaring my ignorance, he said, "*I have made a calculation, and do not believe they amount to* 500, *including the duke, you, myself, and our party.*" To tell you the truth, I apprehend that he has rather over-rated the number of the *faithful*, and, though a *philosopher*, I deplore the progress of infidelity among the people; I am of the same opinion with Voltaire, that whether we believe in a God ourselves, or not, it would be dangerous to the whole community, should the multitude think that they can, with impunity, and without fear of punishment in the next world, rob, poison, stab, hang, or behead in this. This anti-social doctrine is to be dreaded more now than ever, because the laws are without vigour or support, and the mass of the people consider themselves above them, and, what is most deplorable, *it is the interest of the assembly to keep up the spirit of this moral and political anarchy.*

"I am well aware that it is not quite gallant to fill with philosophy and politics so much of a letter from a lover to his beloved; but to whom can I confide, with safety, the thoughts and secrets of my mind, if not to you, who are so much above the pretensions and prejudices of your sex, and the discretion of mine? Let this be my apology.

"I hope that it did not escape your penetration, to what divinity I yesterday addressed *my prayers and my oath of fidelity* at the altar; and that you *alone* were the *supreme being* I worshipped, and ever shall adore.

"How is it with your *embonpoint?* Is our Charles to have a brother or a sister, or was it only a false alarm? Embrace our dear boy. I shall sup with you, &c. to-morrow. Burn this epistle *."

The contents of this letter is another proof of the corrupt levity, social depravity, and sacrilegious profaneness, even of the chiefs and leaders of the French rebellion. The horrors already witnessed will, therefore, not surprize, but prepare mankind, as long as a revolutionary government continues to oppress and mislead Frenchmen, to see or hear of still greater enormities.

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 11, and 12. In the preface of this work, it is said that the publisher printed these letters by the order of the committee of public safety, where all the originals were deposited, and might be seen and compared with the impression.

What a religious and moral blasphemy! the prelate selected to address the Almighty for a whole people, to implore his blessing on their meditated regeneration, begins his letter to his mistress, with calling the fête, in which he acted as an envoy to heaven, ridiculous; and finishes it, by telling the person to whom it was written, and with whom he then lived in open adultery, that she was his *only divinity* to whom all his prayers and oaths were directed, and the only supreme being worshipped or ever to be adored by him! how many shocking indignities are offered to Providence in these few lines! and the blasphemer not only lives but prospers. But if

> D'une conduite pure, la gloire est immortelle,
> Du crime triomphant la honte est eternelle.

The labours of Talleyrand in the several committees were not without their profit. They were particularly well rewarded, when a member of the diplomatic committee, that proposed the decree agreed to by the national assembly, which changed the family compact between the French and Spanish Bourbons, into a national alliance between the French and Spanish nations. England was then arming to defend her just right to Nootka Sound, and demanded satisfaction for the violence committed there on British navigators and traders. Unable, with any prospect of advantage, to combat this country without the succours of an ally, the Spanish monarch, by his ambassador at Paris, distributed 2,000,000 of dollars among the members of the diplomatic committee for the renewal and confirmation of former treaties with France, by the national assembly. Of this sum Talleyrand shared 100,000 dollars, which, notwithstanding the several *patriotic* donations received by him from the Duke of Orleans, were so far from sufficient to satisfy his creditors, that, to stop a denunciation of theirs, ready to be printed and distributed, he was under the necessity of borrowing the *ecrin*, or jewel box, of the Countess of F——hault, pawned by him at the *Mont Piété* in Paris, in June, 1790, for 92,000 livres, or 3,900l. where they would have been sold, had not the Marquis of M—gni, in June 1791, lent his sister-in-law money to take them out, as Talleyrand had entirely *forgotten this debt of honour* *.

This dear bought decree of the national assembly would have been, however, of little benefit to Spain, had not Great Britain, instead of enforcing her just and reasonable demands, which she might easily have done, consented to pacific arrangements, with her usual generosity. It is true that the unfortunate king of France had ordered an auxiliary squadron, of forty-five sail of the line, to be fitted out at Brest, but the habits of obedience, that had long characterised the French nation, were universally relaxed, the laws no longer revered, and the duties of subjects to their sovereign no more regarded. The contagious spirit of revolt had been communicated to the troops, and in the intemperance of their civic feasts, and the seductive appellation of citizens, the sailors as well as the soldiers had renounced their military fidelity and discipline. Instead of confiding in their commanders, they revolted against them, accusing them of aristocracy, and of conspiracy against the nation; and these absurd and unjust accusations, were soon made the foundation of real injuries. Count Albert de Rioms had been appointed to the command of the Brest fleet. But, in the arsenals at that port, the spirit of insubordination prevailed no less than in other parts of the kingdom; the galley-slaves threatened to fire the store-houses, the sailors derided their officers, and the national assembly, in virtue of their strength and superiority in numbers, claimed the right of legislating for themselves. To these excesses the assembly opposed only feeble and time-serving determinations and regulations, and the admiral, unable to restore order, being even threatened by the rebellious crews with the then fashionable lamp-post, was obliged to resign his command. He was succeeded by Bougainville, but the pacification that ensued, fortunately for him, reduced his duty to an attempt of restoring subordination. On this occasion the national assembly, to organize rebellion in the navy as well as in the army, resolved, that the white flag should be no longer used, but that of three colours substituted.

---

* La Politique d'un Infame Peregord, p. 44. and Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 6.

Among other revolutionary distinctions now bestowed, or rather heaped, upon Talleyrand, was his election in August as one of the secretaries of the jacobin club, which has since acquired such dreadful celebrity, and of which the bishop of Autun was one of the founders and leading members. The rage for political discussion had induced some factious members, in the spring of 1769, to form a society, which they called *Le Club Breton*. When the assembly, in the autumn of the same year, removed to Paris, it was augmented by all the opposition parties in that body, and by a great number of political adventurers, speculatists, and economists. They hired, as a place of meeting, a building formerly appropriated to the religious order of the jacobins, and by that name the society was afterwards distinguished. Talleyrand was here in his element, as this club soon became the centre of intrigue and conspiracy. It maintained extensive correspondences with affiliated societies in the kingdom, amounting first to 2000, but increased, during the reign of Robespierre, to 44,000. All the provincial and affiliated bodies, receiving the impulse from the parent society, spread insurrection and a love of licentiousness throughout the kingdom. The soldiers were invited to their meetings as the best school for insubordination, and the officers were denounced and punished as aristocrats, for interposing their authority to prevent their attendance. By the jacobins every measure of the legislature was either prepared or resisted; its way smoothed by petitions and acclamations, or impeded by clamours, menaces and riots. The club also maintained a communication with various foreign societies all over Europe, and by the secret influence of its members, in courts and cabinets, among ministers, generals, and courtiers, and by their public support of most literati, *savans*, or other men of letters, in their historical works as well as in their political and literary journals, promised to spread among all classes and in every direction the contagion of its principles, and prepare mankind in general to acquiesce in, and even applaud, the consequences resulting from them *. Every principal town, and almost every considerable village in France, furnished an association, with which the club at Paris held a regular intercourse. It encouraged denunciation, and offered support. It listened to complaints and suggested means of redress. It affected to console, and promised to chastise;

---

* See Le Diable Boiteux, &c. p. 8. Conjuration de Robespierre, and Biographical Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 372.

but its language of consolation was reserved for those who violated, and its chastisements directed against those who supported the laws.

Although the jacobin clubs are no longer fashionable in France, the spirit of jacobinism there is not only sustained but improved. It continues even to extend its influence and to exert its ravages in most other states. It is now so perfectly identified with the revolutionary government, whatever appellation is usurped by its chief, the name of a citizen sans culotte, or the title of an imperial monarch, that both must rule or perish together. This originates, in a great measure, from the jacobin propaganda now organised into a SECRET EXTERNAL, as well as INTERNAL POLICE, its firmest and invariable support. Both these revolutionary and anti-social institutions acknowledge Talleyrand as their parent. The plan he drew for the former in 1789, was improved by him for the latter in 1799, and the instructions he composed for the emissaries of the jacobin propaganda sixteen years ago, with the exception of some variations which Buonaparte's conspiracy against all antient dynasties and lawful governments has made necessary, serve yet for the agents of the secret French police.

None but Talleyrand, Mirabeau, and some other principal chiefs were initiated in the hidden views of the jacobin propaganda. Buonaparte, Talleyrand, and Fouché are the only persons at present exclusively acquainted with and directing the intrigues, plots, and crimes of the agents of the secret French police *.

The following curious state paper the author received, with several others, from a loyal friend at Paris, who, though figuring at Buonaparte's diplomatic levees, and from policy partaking of Talleyrand's official dinners, holds in the utmost detestation these guilty men; watches their motions and penetrates into their plans; has temerity enough often to expose their atrocities, and courage, when occasion offers, to deliver mankind of its scourge:

SECRET POLICE OFFICE †.

"Secret instructions for the agents of our secret external police, delivered over to them, after their

---

* See the preface of La Police de Fouché devoilé.

† The author is aware that ſome instances of atrocity displayed in these instructions will appear needless, wanton, and extravagant; but he has fairly stated their source. For his own part, he considers them as assimilating perfectly with the general history of revolutionists, and can hardly doubt their authenticity.

examination and trial, have been approved, and after having subscribed the following oath:

"I ———— swear, by every thing that is sacred or terrible, to obey, without hesitation, the orders transmitted to me from the office of the secret police, even were I commanded to stab my father, strangle my mother, shoot my brother, violate my sister, poison my wife, or drown my children; to set fire to churches or orphans' houses, to blow up palaces or arsenals; to murder persons chained in the dungeons of prisons, or suffering on the sick bed in hospitals; to spare neither age nor sex, rank, eminence nor innocence. Should I disobey the orders or betray the secrets reposed in me, I consent that this oath shall be my death warrant.

"(Signed) ————"

"When arrived at your place of destination, wait on our diplomatic or commercial agents, who will have orders to protect you, but only as a common traveller. Try to gain their confidence, and to find out their real political opinions; if sincerely attached to their sovereign, or tainted with any prejudices favourable to the Bourbons, write down and report all your conversations with them; if they are not removed in consequence, they must in time be entrusted with the secrets of your mission. Then, first, you can, without indiscretion unbosom yourself, ask their advice, and claim their protection to its full extent.

"As we judge proper, and according to the spirit of the government or the prejudices of the nation, you are to travel in and visit different countries, either as a military man, an amateur, a savans, or a merchant, &c. Should it be found necessary, you must sometimes descend to be an actor, a dancer, a musician, a quack, a cook, or even a valet.

"When in a military capacity, your conversation must often be of battles fought and victories gained, of fatigues of marches and the pleasures of encampments; of duels and deaths; of wounds received, and foes destroyed. Let your associates or companions dread you as a *spadassin* (bully), or laugh at you as a gasconader, but never give them occasion to despise you as a coward. When an amateur or savans, curiosities, antiquities, or literature must always be the subjects of your discourses, and *seemingly* be your only thoughts. It is better to be ridiculed as a pedant than neglected as a dunce, or suspected as an impostor. When a merchant, trade and manufactures, commercial speculations or financial transactions are to be your only *visible* occupations; and since in the character of an officer, you are to frequent the military parades or reviews, as an amateur or savans, museums, learned societies, clubs, and academies will be your resort, so as a merchant you are never to miss the exchange or those coffee-houses resorted to by commercial men or stock-jobbers. A portable library, with select books, applicable to the character you represent, will be given you. You must not neglect obtaining from them the information necessary for your station. When in inferior situations, you shall be amply furnished with instructions in what manner to perform your parts.

“ In countries inimical to, or at war with France, you must pass for an exiled person, a victim of the revolution, proscribed by the emperor of the French, and pursued by his vengeance. Though there, as every where else, well provided with pecuniary resources and credit, complain of poverty, suffer from poverty, and cause yourself even to be imprisoned for debts as poor. Should not the government after all this open its purse, some *charitable friend* or *relation* in France will send you some succours, and relieve your distress, and you are always sure not to rot in a jail. To obtain that confidence from interest which compassion has refused, you may, with an air of importance, disclose those indifferent secrets given you to be made public. As the authenticity of your disclosure will soon be proved from events, you must say that they are communicated to you by a powerful royal or jacobin faction in France, of which you of course are one of the principal chiefs. Should you ſtill not succeed, insinuate yourself by some small presents, larger promises or trifling services, into the confidence of some needy avaricious emigrant, trusted by the government. He will, no doubt, introduce you into some of the public offices of state; but should you even then not meet with success, apply to our secret stationary (*sedentaire*) and nationl agent, he will direct you in what manner you will best be enabled to execute your mission. All persons not immediately necessary for your purposes, to whom you have made advances, whom you believe suspect your conduct or calumniate your principles, or disseminate unfavourable reports, concerning you, muſt immediately be dispatched.

"As in all countries you are well provided with letters of introduction and credit, try to make such use of the former, as may render it least necessary to resort to the latter. In our secret depôts of the principal cities of Europe and America, you may, in making yourself known, and in advancing your authority, obtain as much as required in forged bank notes or bills of exchange, in counterfeit gold or bad silver coins. To avoid suspicion, take care, however, to draw from your banker the sum necessary for your expences, but remit in good bills, according to address, to the treasurer of our secret police, the amount of what you have taken from our secret depôts.

"In all places we have regular secret stationary agents born in the country, and they will always be among the persons to whom you are introduced. They are, and must remain unknown to our accredited agents. Engage no person in your service who is not recommended by them, except the *valet de place* of the inn where you lodge. This description of men are usually spies of the police of their country. By letting them know, with proper discretion, that you are acquainted with it, and that you have ample means to reward their services, you may be enabled to make many useful discoveries, and also to inspect the actions both of our secret and public agents.

"When among fashionable people, or with persons of talent, favour, or popularity, whose opinions already influence, or may be expected one day to influence the determinations of the cabinets, or the spirit of the army or the public, be very attentive in noting their words, remarks, and even their very looks, in order that you may know whether they speak what they think, or think what they speak, if they are patriots or enthusiasts, interested schemers, or deluded fanatics. Form your judgment, and act accordingly. But the example of France must always be held up as a hope of gaining supremacy for the ambitious, riches for the covetous, justice for the injured, revenge for the vindictive, and impunity for all.

"Take care on all occasions to speak of the *regeneration* of France as beneficial to the universe.

verse. Be attentive on whom this makes the greatest impression, and answer those who complain of the revolution as not having realised the prospect and promises of universal liberty, that the universe cannot be free before all present sovereigns have by force been reduced to subjects, and subjects have been elevated to the dignity of sovereigns. This the tenets and victories of republican Sans Culottes were unable to effect; it must therefore be done by the senatus consultus, negociation, or treaties of republican imperialists. Announce that the emperor of the French will descend to the rank of a simple citizen, the instant the subjects of all other countries, in becoming citizens, acknowledge no longer any other sovereignty than that of the people. Be, however, careful with whom you converse in this manner, and avoid either giving offence, or inspiring mistrust. Your own penetration will tell you where and to whom you may hold such language without reserve. Should any overtures be made to you in consequence, let the person be ever so high by his rank, or eminent for his genius or capacity, decline entering into particulars, and remember that you must be known as an individual or isolated traveller only. But report to our diplomatic agent the overtures made, the names of the persons making them, and your own opinion of them. As your stay in each place will be but short, you may in company sometimes hazard your remarks rather freely, on what is spoken of as abuses of authority in the government, or what constitutes the complaint of the people. But always do it with caution, and invariably finish by endeavouring to impress them with a sense of the advantages resulting from the French revolution, having destroyed in France all power of abuse on one side, and all causes of complaint on the other.

"In whatever country you may happen to be, you are to watch the presses, the booksellers' shops, the post-offices, the anti-chambers and closets of the sovereign, the cabinets of ministers, and the offices and studies of their secretaries. To procure information, spare no pains, dread nothing, stoop to any thing. The potion on the stitello, the trinket on the bank-note, you may use by turns, and as occasion requires. Do not implicitly confide in those persons you employ; inspect every thing, and transact as much as possible yourself; do not fail to compare their reports with your own observations; those who intend to impose upon you, or who desire to mislead or betray you, at once dispatch.

"Do not develope the object of your mission to the secret stationary agent, until it is quite ripe for execution; because, when any *grand coup d'etat* is to be struck, he is bound by his oath and duty to procure at a moment's warning, whatever succours or assistance you may require either in men or money. Should you suspect his weakness, or discover any treachery or hesitation, take care to be provided with the most subtle, as well as the most lingering poison; and administer him a dose which will either put an end to his existence in a few seconds, or produce a life of misery and painful death in some months or years, as may best suit your purpose.

"If you are entrusted with real and artificial diamonds, on your arrival present those who promise to serve you with the former; but before your departure you must exchange them for the latter, or the loss will be yours. By means of the *pass partout*, or picklock keys you carry with you, all places must be accessible to you, you may therefore easily penetrate into the apartment where the crown jewels are kept, into the cabinet containing the state-papers, into the prince's closet or the minister's portfolio, into council-chambers, into treasuries, into public and private banks, into state-prisons, into armouries, store-houses or arsenals.

" In *removing* guilty, dangerous, or suspected persons, in stopping messengers, in appropriating or exchanging the crown jewels, in carrying off dispatches, in releasing state-prisoners, in securing mails, in firing arsenals or store-houses, take care to be seen as little as possible by those in whom you are recommended to confide; but if once seen by them, never give them time to betray your confidence, by surviving their exploits. By disguise or departure, become invisible as soon as your designs are executed. Our secret or accredited agents will always be previously prepared with the necessary passports into any country, and under whatever name and rank you think safest. Should you, notwithstanding all these precautions, be arrested, fear nothing, poison, steel or gold, shall soon *remove* your jailors, and set you at liberty.

"Be very attentive to the list given you of persons friendly or inimical to the Emperor and to France. Neglect no opportunity of converting or *removing* the latter, and of *indirectly* encouraging, and watching the former.

"Should any new foes start up among statesmen or politicians, among military or literary characters of abilities and firmness, do not give their enmity time to arrive at maturity, but without waiting for further orders, *strike* and depend upon protection. On the contrary, should any new candidates for the imperial favour present themselves, inform our public agents of it, and report it to us, that they be encouraged or rewarded, as we may think fit.

"All persons, who in words, writing, or printing, offend the Emperor, deserve death. In buying up the edition of the libel or calumny, do not fail to punish the printer and publisher as well as the author. Let their agony be long, but their annihilation certain.

"You must at all times endeavour to be possessed of the good opinion of the fair sex, but more particularly of those who are favourites at court, or mistresses of princes or ministers, who have pretensions to wit, adroitness at intrigue, and sense or capacity to cabal. Be gallant or liberal, gay or serious, devout or profane, according to the character or caprice of the persons whose friendship or affection you wish to obtain; or whose secret you intend to ensnare, surprise, or purchase. Be exceedingly careful in the advances you make; but should you suspect that you have gone too far, and entrusted your confidence to an improper person, his immediate death must repair your error, and relieve your fears.

"Since, by means of the support, recommendation and protection you possess, you may enter into the first or most fashionable circles, and, when occasion requires it, be both splendid in your equipage and retinue, and profuse in your expences and manner of living; you must assume an air of importance, nay, you must be audacious, and even impudent when circumstances make it necessary; dare to do every thing, and fear nothing. Banish awkwardness or timidity, and let your deportment be always easy and natural even in challenging the husband after seducing his wife, in insulting the father, after debauching his wife, in relating an absurdity, or in publishing a falsehood. If it is an object of your views to be loved or admired by women, it is also necessary, that if you cannot be liked, you must be feared by men. But those of either sex, whom you can neither intimidate, purchase, or seduce—REMOVE!

"Peruse these instructions so often that they may be indelibly impressed upon your memory, and then you may destroy the key of the chiffres with which they are written. All papers of consequence, such as the copy of your official correspondence, the list of names, plans of places, and orders, means, and instruments for acting, you must, as soon as you arrive any where, for fear of accident, leave at our secret depots, from whence you may retake them any hour, day or night.

"Any unforeseen or extraordinary occurrences, which may appear to you as useful or advantageous during your travels, immediately communicate to us, and wait our farther instructions or orders. Given in our Secret Police Office at Paris.

"(Signed) NAPOLEON.
"(Countersigned) TALLEYRAND.
FOUCHE *."

These instructions of the external secret police agents are said to differ from those of the jacobin propagators, only by the emperor's having substituted other words in the places formerly occupied by the rights of man, by liberty, equality, and fraternity, by the tri-coloured cockade, by the jacobin cap, or by the tree of liberty, and other fashionable words of the former revolutionary vocabulary. It is to be wished, for the happiness of civilised society, that a day may soon arrive, when we shall no longer hear either of a revolutionary emperor, or of his secret or privileged revolutionary spies.

During the whole year of 1790, and until September, 1791, Talleyrand continued a perpetual member of the jacobin committee for pro-

---

* The author has been promised the secret instructions for the internal secret police agent; should this arrive in time they shall appear in this publication.

propagating the rights of man, and inspected and directed all the secret correspondence carried on in every part of Europe and America *.

Several reports concerning the finances were presented by him to the national assembly during the months of August and September 1790, in all which he strongly recommended the issuing of assignats, as the only means to relieve the burden of the people, and to pay the state creditors. It was not enough to plunder the clergy of their possessions; it was also necessary for the interest and safety of the chief marauders to admit the greatest part of the nation to a participation of the plunder. Assignats were therefore decreed, and the confiscated estates and lands were to be disposed of, and paid for in assignats. If the national debt, instead of being paid off, was increased since this paper money was sent into circulation, he and his associates took care to get rid of their creditors, and to appropriate to themselves large sums besides for future necessities or excesses. He now intrigued with increasing activity, and instead of being only a member of the financial committee

---

* Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 5.

of the national assembly wished to become at once the king's superintendant of finances, as Necker was likely to resign. But neither his abilities, plots, nor the *carte blanche* he had the audacity to offer the queen, could remove the well-merited aversion their majesties had for his person, or the contempt they felt for his treacherous and depraved conduct *.

The seizure and sale of clerical property left the minister of the Christian faith in a state of abject dependence on those who made no secret of their hatred and contempt. Not content with the present plunder, the *philosophers* and *patriots* of the national assembly sought to render the ministers of religion contemptible, by subjecting them to a new oath, as cruelly oppressive as it was contrary to their former engagements, and to the duties and rights of the Gallican church. It commanded them to become perjurers and apostates, traitors to their God, and rebels to their king. Those who refused to subscribe to their dishonour and perdition, were driven forth with no resource but 500 livres, or 20l. a-year, which were never intended to be paid; exposed to the fury of their persecutors as non-conformists, and as the French atheists and rebels called it—refractory.

---

* See Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionnaire, p. 26. and La Politique d'un Infame Peregord, p. 45.

The cruel decrees of the legislature, mostly instigated by Talleyrand, had been for some time so replete with tyranny against the clergy, that the intention of reducing them to misery, or exasperating them to resistance, could not be disguised. After confiscating their established revenues, laws were made declaring all benefices elective, admitting all persons of every sect, even those who were not Christians, to vote in these elections, and totally altering the extent and limits of dioceses. The clergy respectfully contended, that whatever right the assembly might claim to their endowments, they could not assume a dominion over the discipline and spiritual government of the church, and therefore demanded a national council to decide the points involved in these decrees. This proposition, just as it was, excited the indignation of the legislature. Pretended conspiracies and insurrections were denounced and declaimed against with fury. On the 26th of November, after the discussion of a long complaint preferred by Talleyrand against the virtuous bishop of Nantes, the deputy Voidel, a devoted adherent of the Duke of Orleans, made a report from four committees, inveighing in shameless terms against the supposed crimes of the clergy, proposing a decree by which all members of the church should be compelled to swear adherence and submission to the civil constitution of the clergy on pain of forfeiting their livings, and denouncing public and criminal prosecutions against those, who, after refusing the oaths, should retain their benefices, or exercise their functions. This decree, impiously defended by Talleyrand, was ably combated by the energetic and lofty eloquence of Abbé Maury, by the solid but temperate reasonings of Abbé de Montesquieu, and by the pathetic simplicity of the Bishop of Clermont. But as their arguments were answered only by profane ribaldry or wanton insult, the majority of the clergy announced their resolution to take no further share in the discussion; and the decree, with another still more rigorous proposed by Talleyrand's friend, Mirabeau, passed the assembly *.

The king had already received from the Pope a brief, expressing his holiness's disapprobation of the civil constitution of the clergy. His majesty was too sincerely attached to the forms of church government, as well as the substance of Christianity to approve of any innovation, which the Roman pontiff declared repugnant to the ecclesiastical constitution. The assembly now pressed him to sanction their decree, but Louis XVI. refused to legalise the measure, till the violent party in the assembly threatened to renew the outrages of October 1789. As the brigands in the galleries thundered with execrations against the bishops for appealing to the Pope, and with complaints of the weakness of Frenchmen, who could submit to the veto of a transalpine pontiff, and swore destruction to them as well as to the court, the king on the 26th of December reluctantly wrote a long letter to the assembly, announcing his acceptance of it. The infidels and demagogues now tri-

---

* See the Debates of the 26th and 27th November, 1790, and Bartrand's Annals, vol. iii. p. 196.

umphed in their victory over the church, whose members they had reduced to the alternative of martyrdom or infamy, and were highly gratified, when on the ensuing day sixty apostate priests or monks took the oaths, headed by the regicide Abbé Gregoire. To enforce the execution of their decree with greater certainty, the assembly fixed the 4th of January, 1791, as the day on which every ecclesiastical member of their body must peremptorily take the oath, or resign his benefices. To inspire them at the same time with apprehension for their personal safety, on the Sunday preceding, according to a plan of Talleyrand, the Orleans faction caused a false copy of the decree to be posted up at Paris, declaring those ecclesiastics, not complying with its terms, disturbers of the public tranquillity, and as such deserving death. The Bishop of Clermont, desirous by a last effort to convince the people of the pure and disinterested intentions of the clergy, proposed a modification of the test, but the assembly refused to admit it.

On the 4th of January, in expectation of the great event, the galleries were early filled, and the hall surrounded with a clamorous and sanguinary

guinary mob. The clergy attended in their places, as willing sacrifices to the purity of their principles. Some time was passed in attempting to modify the requisition of the assembly, by an explanatory decree proposed by the traitor Gregoire, but it was rejected. At length the president informed the ecclesiastical members, that he would proceed to call their names, and that they were bound to answer. The silence with which the intimation was received lasted some minutes, and was only broken by the yells of the people in the galleries, requiring that the non-jurors should immediately be hung to the lamp-post, or *a la lanterne*, the then fashionable cry of French *renovators*. When these clamours were with difficulty appeased, the president began his list with the Bishop of Agen; and the venerable prelate having, after long opposition and much abuse, obtained permission to speak, expressed himself in these words:—"I feel no regret for the loss of my preferment; I feel no regret for my fortune; but I should regret the loss of your esteem, which I am determined to deserve. I beg you then to believe, that it is extremely painful to me not to be able to take the oath you require." Several other members of the church returned similar answers; when their enemies, fearful that so many heroic sentences would convert the triumph they had expected into a disgrace, made the president desist from calling the names, and confine himself to a general summons to the ecclesiastics, to take the oath or renounce their benefices. After much delay this definitive appeal produced only one instance of compliance in the person of a curate named Landrin. All the rest, with unparalleled resignation and calmness, heard the decree read, which ejected them from their livings for ever, deprived them of bread, and made them Christian outlaws in the midst of a nation of atheists and assassins.

All the bishops, except Talleyrand and two others, with many thousands of parish priests and curates, were thus to be suddenly replaced. A new decree obviated the difficulties thus created, by shortening the term required by the law for qualifying clergymen to hold benefices. An unprincipled rabble, the dregs of infidelity and apostacy, were in this manner put in possession of the remaining wealth, and titular honours of the church, while those who had long held these dignities, and by their virtues had gained the affections of their flock, were deprived of every resource to support an existence, and threatened every instant with destruction.

The excessive cruelty of this persecution by pretended philosophers was deeply felt. Whatever opinions might be entertained of the Romish doctrines, no reasonable man could withhold his detestation of the iniquity of compelling persons inducted into an office, to renounce it with all its emoluments, unless they would take an oath directly repugnant to every principle, which it was essential they should possess in order to qualify them for that office. Perhaps the honour, morality, and vigour, displayed by the clergy on this occasion, exceeded the expectations of their adversaries. Less energy would have exposed the whole body to contempt, but thus to renounce elevation, and submit to poverty in a host, raised them to the rank of martyrs. The purity of their principles could no longer be questioned, and the victorious party foamed with rage at the eloquent expressions of one of the deputies among the nobility, respecting the ejected bishops: "If they are driven from their episcopal palaces," he said, "they will retire to the huts of the religious, who have been fed by their bounty. If deprived of their golden crosses, they will find wooden ones; and it was a cross of wood that saved the world. Let their persecutors pursue their grey hairs even in this humble retreat—martyrdom will be submitted to with the same resignation as poverty." But, independent of its inhumanity to individuals, this infamous and impolitic decree may be regarded as one of the principal causes of all those civil disturbances in different parts of France, which gave rise to the Vendean war, and to the numerous atrocities perpetrated by republicans in that loyal and religious country; and though Buonaparte has compelled the present weak pope to interpose his authority, the schism between the non-juring and revolutionary clergy continues to torment consciences, and excite commotions *.

Talleyrand, to palliate his apostacy, perjury, and intoleration, had, under date of the 29th December, 1790, published an address to the

---

* See the debates on the days alluded to. Bertrand's Annals, vol. iii. and Abbé Barruel's History of the Clergy.

clergy of France; and in relating the motives which had engaged him to subscribe the constitutional oath, he invited all ecclesiastics to follow his example. This address, though written with ability, instead of making proselytes, only excited the surprise or indignation even of his partisans. For a nobleman by birth, and a prelate by dignity, not only to be unabashed at his treachery and degradation, but to glory in his infamy, and declare himself the hired tool of the vilest and most abandoned of men, evinces such perversion of principles or depravity of mind, that the loyal public did not know whom to abhor the most, the rebel or the apostate. From that instant he was forbid the presence of his relatives, and every body who loved virtue or detested vice shut their doors against him *.

Such were his public transactions, and such their effect, which were both known and felt at the time. But for contemporaries, as well as for posterity, it is peculiarly interesting to dive into the private views of persons claiming celebrity, to discover those secret springs which are generally unknown to any body but themselves,

---

* La Faction d'Orleans demasqué, p. 8, and the note p. 9.

and to be enabled to judge of the candidate for popularity by the professions of the individual, and the confidence of the friend. Under date of the 24th of November, 1790, Talleyrand wrote to the Countess of F——hault: "I am tired of all this bustle and broil (*tracasserie*) about the oath exacted by the assembly. If my united brethren (*comperes*) were not fools they would follow my example; think more of their appetites and comforts in France, and less of their consciences and duties to Rome. After all the oaths taken and broken by us, after so often swearing fidelity to a constitution, to a nation, to a law, and to a king, *existing only by names*, this last is a mere mummery, the invention of the duke (of Orleans) to involve the French prelates with Louis (XVI.). Thanks to their imbecility or fanaticism, he is disappointed; he has made no new acquisition, but caused his poor friends more trouble than he has, or I fear ever will have it in his power to recompence. I was closeted last night six hours with him, Mirabeau, Sieyes, and Voidel, and at my return home I found a note from L. P. (no doubt La Porte, the intendant of the king's civil list) and early this morning went to meet him. The court is too late with its offers to stop or change this affair, which to its other curses adds the torment of forcing me to remain so long absent from you. I have invited your husband to dine with me to-morrow; do not fail to be of the party, otherwise I do not know when I shall see you, being engaged at the committees to-morrow, and the two following nights. I embrace you and our Charles affectionately." On the 5th of January he wrote again to the same lady: "Business of great importance to my creditors as well as to myself, deprives me of the pleasure of passing *jour des rois* (the twelfth night) with you, as I promised and intended. Poor kings! their fêtes as well as reign, will soon, I fear, be at an end. Even Mirabeau apprehends, that our strides towards a republic are too hasty and too violent; and that before we can establish a commonwealth, (what a commonwealth, of twenty-four millions of corrupt people!) fanatics will light their torches, and anarchists shake their halters, and that we all shall have narrow escapes between religious faggots and political lamp-posts (*lanternes*). I must therefore arrange my affairs in such a manner, as that in case of a shipwreck I may not be left destitute on the coast, where destiny cast me away. I am in hopes of receiving to-morrow a considerable sum due to me from the duke, which, with what assignats I possess already, will detach me, if needful, from France, and provide for us abroad. How did you like the *farce* of yesterday? The galleries were too crowded to permit me to speak to you, but did not the hypocrites exhibit a *masterly* performance? It could not escape your observation, that their speeches were as studied, as their resignation was affected. But the impression they made prevented me, however, from ascending the tribune, and tearing off their masks. They were well aware, that there was no danger of exchanging their episcopal mitres for crowns of martyrdom, otherwise the cowards would not have shown themselves so valiant. I am enraged to think how easily they could make dupes. I dare say, they have received good lessons from the superstitious Capets (the Bourbons,) males and females, as well as from certain cardinals, who cannot call patriotism one of their cardinal virtues. I wish with all my heart both the instructors and the disciples were at Rome, or any where else but in France, where their mockery of apostles and martyrs can do no more good to them, than their unfashionable orthodoxy or ridiculous Christianity to the patriots, many of whom are yet ignorant enough to believe in the religion of their forefathers. Though this *ridiculous* business has given me a great deal of labour, it has upon the whole been more *profitable* than I expected. It has cleared my debts, and *entre nous*, put me in a fair way to be able to purchase the tiara of France, of Rome, or at least of the revolution. On Monday I will sup and pass the night with you. How is it with Charles's deafness? I embrace you both cordially and affectionately.—*Burn this letter!* Adieu *!"

From these letters it is evident, that without any religion himself, Talleyrand doubted the sincerity of faith in others; and as his motives for acting were interested and wicked, he could not believe in the disinterestedness and purity of those, whom no temporal consideration could

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom iv. p. 18, 19, and 20.

allure, and no revolutionary threats intimidate. He and most of his accomplices always drew mankind according to their own model; and those who deny the existence of virtue, never resist the temptation of becoming associates in guilt. The frivolous indifference with which he speaks of the misery prepared for his country, by the deeds and plots in which he had such a considerable share, is shocking and disgusting. Amidst all these cruel reflections, he thinks of nobody but himself, except once, by way of a compliment, of his adultress and their bastard. If they, together with himself, were safe any where, he would contemplate with *sang froid*, and perhaps with satisfaction, the revolutionary conflagration he had lighted, consuming the globe, provided it spared that snug corner where our philosopher might be planning new devastations, or enjoying the fruits of those he had made already. By these letters we learn besides, that the Orleans faction intended by this oath to recruit new supports to their chief, in his conspiracy to usurp the throne of his king and relative; and that among the clergy, as well as among the nobility and the people, they hoped that every body who, from depravity or weakness, had debased or dishonoured himself, who had crimes to repent and punishment to apprehend, would adhere to the Duke of Orleans as their preserver and protector. Buonaparte has since, with more success, adopted the same plan, and his usurpation and empire has no other foundation; but it is also to be remembered that Talleyrand is his principal counsellor, and faithful minister.

During the late debates concerning the clergy, the conduct of Mirabeau had been a problem, which scarcely any of his old adherents, and few of the king's friends were able to solve: It is, however, unquestionable that Talleyrand shared his secrets and the wages he obtained for deserting his party. This is certainly the money mentioned in the letter to the Countess of F—hault, of the 5th of January, 1791, and he, therefore, was insincere even in his seeming trust and pretended sincerity with his bosom friend. The finances of the Duke of Orleans were, at that time, so totally deranged, and his credit so irretrievably lost, that he lived merely upon expedients, and could not, therefore, dispose of any sum of consequence. In fact, the former negotiation between the popular demagogue Mirabeau and the court, had been successfully renewed, and in consideration of 600,000 livres (25,000l.) cash paid him, and a monthly stipend of 50,000 livres (2,080l.) he became a warm advocate in the cause of monarchy, and gained the entire confidence of the king and his most intimate advisers. According to the pamphlet "La *Faction* d'Orleans demasqué," p. 10. "Talleyrand received, in one single payment, in January 1791, from La Porte, the intendant of the king's civil list, the sum of of 1,200,000 livres in assignats (50,000l.) But both these traitors had a difficult task to perform in acting with characters equally immoral with themselves, and of course as suspicious of being betrayed as they were ready to betray. It had been settled that Mirabeau should first gradually undermine the ground seized by his fellow conspirators, and that his associate should not openly join him before the fire was ready to be set to the mine, and their annihilation inevitable." But as he was sensible that in the degraded and enfeebled state to which he had reduced the royal authority, no sudden effort of force would be attended with the desired consequences, he still proposed to forward his new measures by means of his popularity; to awe the most frantic of the revolutionists by threatening to disclose their crimes, to combine others in his cause by a judicious mixture of promises and arguments, to secure the fidelity of the army to the sovereign, or engage the people to petition for the dissolution of the present and convocation of a new assembly, on the well-founded allegation, that the existing legislature had exceeded the authorities with which it was originally invested, and consequently that its abolitions, resumptions, and regulations were not valid. It was also a part of this project, that the king should leave Paris, where he was in real captivity, and putting himself at the head of his forces, commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé, fix his abode at Montmedy, proclaiming himself the protector of his people, and defender of their rights and liberties. The plan was wise, dignified, and moderate; it proposed no violence against the assembly, no proscription of individuals, no punishment even of perjurors. It could not with propriety be called a counter revolution, but a tranquil mode of retracting those errors into which precipitate zeal, scandalous venality, or corrupt ambition had plunged the assembly. Faithful to his new engagements, Mirabeau saw with regret the late attacks on the clergy, but neither he nor Talleyrand could openly oppose them, as the difference between such conduct and that which they had always before observed, would have been too conspicuous. At first he promised to absent himself from the assembly for a month; but his sagacity soon discovered the folly of secession, and he contented himself, when the decrees had passed, with proposing an address to the nation, which would, by its excessive violence, have roused every true friend of the Catholic religion, and compelled them to rally round the altar. Talleyrand approved of this address; the other demagogues, however, foresaw this effect, and though they concurred in the atrocious sentiment it contained, referred it back to a committee *.

In the discussion on the laws against emigration, Mirabeau, invited to the tribune by the applause

---

* See Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 17. and 18. Biographical Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 128. Bouille's Memoirs, p. 274. et seq. Bertrand's Annals, vol. iii. p. 294. and 316.

plause of all parties, took a leading part, but Talleyrand remained silent. The former began his speech by observing that, within an hour before, he had received ten notes, one half claiming the performance of those principles which he had long openly supported on the subject of emigration, the other requiring him to agree to what was called the *necessity of circumstances*, or, what was the same thing, to procure the beggarly rebels of the assembly an opportunity to enrich themselves with the plunder of emigrated men of property. He then read a page and a half of a letter, which he had written six years before to Frederic William, king of Prussia, on the day of his accession to the throne, in which he exhorted that monarch to desist from enforcing laws against emigration, as derogatory to liberty, incompatible with justice, and fit only for those powers who wished to convert their states into prisons. After dwelling at considerable length on these just and liberal sentiments, and proving their policy by various arguments and examples, he moved, "that the assembly, having heard the reports of their committees, and considering a law against emigrants incompatible with the principles of the constitution,

tion, had refused to hear the plan of a law read, and passed to the order of the day." This excited great murmurs; but Mirabeau, regardless of their clamours, again ascended the tribune. Those who durst not individually attack his arguments, now endeavoured to drown his voice by repeated marks of discontent; but suddenly turning towards them with a look of ineffable superiority and marked contempt, "silence," he exclaimed, "silence those thirty voices!" The factious leaders apprehensive that he would disclose the plots, as well as the number of their association, shrunk into immediate silence, and permitted him to recommend, that if the adjournment was adopted, a decree should issue for prevention of riots till its expiration. He had, however, the mortification to see a contrary proposition of Vernier's adopted; and thus a basis was laid for those acts of fraud, confiscation and tyranny, which have disgraced the French annals, and reduced so many noble and worthy families to poverty abroad, or to undergo imprisonments, and suffer judicial murders at home; while upstarts, loaded with crimes and enriched by plunder, have been enabled with impunity to revel in their properties, insult their misfortunes, and proscribe and butcher their persons.

While occupied in the arrangements for carrying into effect his grand plan for changing the government, Mirabeau was seized with a sudden illness, and after enduring, for two days, the most excruciating tortures, expired in the arms of Talleyrand, on the 2d of April, 1791, in exclaiming: "*J'emporte la monarchie aveč moi: des factieux s'en partageront les debris. Tu mon ami a trop d'esprit pour ne pas avoir ta part.*" When his illness was announced, the whole capital was in alarm, his door was crowded with inquiries, and messengers from the king himself augmented the number. His death was ascribed in the *procès verbal*, published by the surgeons who opened him, to the stoppage of an issue; his heart, they said, was dried up, and his intestines mortified. That he was poisoned was the then received opinion, and subsequent occurrences instead of changing have confirmed it, and that his *most intimate* accomplices (a traitor has no friends) administered the draught which put an end to his life *. Talleyrand and *his friend* or tool the physician Cabarris, who attended Mirabeau during his last hours, might easily yet give such information as would remove all doubts, even with modern *patriots*, of the real causes of the premature death of this their hero. But it is feared that their secrets will be buried in the same tomb, where, in 1795, were deposited, with his corpse, those of the poisoner of Louis XVII. An account has, however, been published of the manner in which Mirabeau was dispatched, and of the party of debauchery at which he swallowed the deadly dose. "He with Talleyrand and four other libertines, each with a prostitute, supped at the Restorateur Roberts in the Palais Royal. In the midst of their intemperance, Madame Le J——, the wife of a bookseller at Paris, and the mistress of Mirabeau, made her appearance, upbraiding him, with all the marks of the most violent jealousy, for his infidelity, insisting upon his leaving the company with her. After many reciprocal reproaches, she at last agreed to Talleyrand's proposal, of taking the place of her lover's temporary *bonne amie*, who was paid and sent away. The excesses of every kind were then renewed and continued until four o'clock in the morning, when Madame Le J—— ordered coffee to revive their spirits. This she had no sooner given Mirabeau than he complained of terrible spasms in his chest. In hopes of finding some alleviation, he went into a warm bath, where he took several dishes of milk with cocoa. This liquor, affording a temporary relief to his complaint, is said to have prolonged his sufferings, as the poison, drank with the dish of coffee, would otherwise, from its subtilety, have brought on immediate death. During his short illness, he refused to see Madame Le J——, whom he accused of hastening his end, by her *excessive* love. After his death this woman lived with Talleyrand for some time, but was afterwards resigned by him to Petion. This gave rise to the report of Talleyrand having betrayed to the republican faction Mirabeau's desertion, and represented what might be the probable consequences to persons guilty as they were. This woman was suspected, therefore, *with the privity, and even at the instigation of Talleyrand*, of having been selected by Petion, Condorcet, Brissot, Cabarris and others, to remove the most dangerous barrier against a general revolution and an universal republic *."

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasqué, &c p. 11.

If Talleyrand's letter to the Countess of F——hault on this occasion, is interesting for the anecdotes it contains, it is also disgusting for the impious sentiments it proclaims. A mixture of profanity and sophistry, it paints in the same hideous colours, the friend, the patriot, and the bishop in the unfeeling individual, in the treacherous associate, and in the blaspheming infidel: "April 2d, at night.—I was in bed, when your servant brought your letter this afternoon, not from illness but from fatigue, having passed these last nights with my dying friend, who breathed his last in my arms this morning at half past eight o'clock. Dignified during his life, in death he was sublime. He preserved his senses and firmness to his last moment. Five minutes before his final annihilation, he wrote: "It is not so difficult to die, as we frequently find it to sleep." Notwithstanding his excruciating tortures, he often joked during the night. Once he said to "me: apropos, my friend! you are a bishop,

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasqué, p. 12. and La Politique d'un Infame Peregord, p. 45.

and you have forgot to sign an absolution for my forty-two years sins, when it might, perhaps, be a pass or a key to enter the Elysian fields." To my assurance that it would neither satisfy Charon, nor quiet Cerberus, he retorted, "then I suppose I shall be obliged to fight my way to paradise, as I did to the national assembly, by whoring, borrowing, cheating, and above all by declaiming. If the saints do not convert me, I shall try to pervert them as I have done with our *pure* patriots. I hope to have no more difficulty to excite the angels to revolt against God, than I had to excite Frenchmen to revolt against Louis XVI. But to cease joking, I have been employed for some time in composing a speech concerning successions. The national assembly is now occupied in discussing laws relative to wills. It may be thought curious enough, that a man who has just made his own will, should offer, as his last homage, the opinion he has prepared on this subject. I bequeath to your friendship the trouble of reading it in the tribune of the assembly." This I intend to do the day after to-morrow, after having previously arranged my own ideas for pronouncing, at the same time, an apotheosis on my departed friend." About seven o'clock he spoke rather peevishly to Cabarris: "a physician," said he, "who attends a friend as a friend, ought to shorten his torments with a good dose of opium." He then took my hand, and looking at me very earnestly exclaimed: "my friend! I am hastening fast to the place where I was before I was born, (*ou j'etois avant de naitre,*) and monarchy departs with me. Factious persons will tear each other to pieces for its ruins, you have too much genius not to get your share." These were the last words he was able to utter, though he afterwards made repeated attempts to speak. During his illness he frequently hinted that he knew that he was poisoned, and mentioned even the hand that had administered the draught. I took care, however, to disperse these gloomy ideas, in which I was well supported by Cabarris, who *proved*, to his satisfaction, that intemperance *alone* had shortened his days. He remarked, however, upon this, "that though he died in an enviable manner, surrounded with all the brilliancy of popularity, he wished the destiny that made him intemperate, had permitted him to expire on the field of battle, or in the arms of a pretty woman.

"You reproach me kindly for not taking sufficient care of my own health; but could I, from any consideration of *my own safety*, leave a dying friend, who, though a great character, certainly, *entre nous*, was a still greater rascal, (scelerat) who, from indiscretion or wickedness, or even from malice at my surviving him, might have discovered secrets which ought, for our mutual honour, to have perished with him. Merely for the humour of ridiculing religion in exposing a bishop, he was capable of playing me such a trick. Besides my attention to him, and his confidence in me, will give me a good share in his *immortality*. Yesterday he enquired after you, and asked me if you were not yet cured of the prejudices you had imbibed in the convent; if you still believed in an heaven, or feared a hell. If——Embrace her for me, and tell her," said he,

> Mettons nous au dessus de toute erreur commune,
> On meurt, et sans resource, et sans reserve aucune.
> S'il est après ma mort quelque reste de moi,
> Ce reste, un peu plus tard suivra la meme loi,
> Fera place a son tour a des nouvelles choses
> Et se replongera dans les ein de ses causes ! ! !

therefore,

Que sur la Volupté toute votre espoir se fonde,
Nécoutez desormais que vos vrais sentiments :
Songez qu'il etoit des amans
Avant qu'il fut des Chretiens dans le monde.

I hope my friend will listen to the advice of a man whose genius and talents she has so often and so justly admired.

" Tormented as he was, his presence of mind never forsook him. The curate of St. Roch wanted yesterday morning to act with him as another fanatic did with Voltaire. He admitted, but deprived him of courage to speak, by repeating these lines, and he went away as he came :

Fanatiques irrités, armez vôtre vengeance,
Le trepas me defend contre votre insolence.
Grand Dieu ! votre courroux devient même impuissant
Et votre foudre en vain frappe mon monument :
La mort met a vos coups un eternel obstacle !

" His political creed was of the same complexion with his religious, and he no more believed in disinterested patriotism than in the immortality of the soul. From what we have seen of some of our fashionable patriots, I am not at all surprized at his political infidelity. But if he would not allow probity to one sex, he likewise denied that your's possessed what the vulgar call virtue.

He confessed, however, that your vices were so agreeable, that they made your want of virtue amiable, instead of being a reproach to you. In such a TRULY *philosophical* manner did he pass his last hours. A time will come when the expressions and notions of this expiring hero will be as religiously collected and preserved as those of a Socrates or a Seneca. They will serve for *moral* texts in the discourses of philosophers, and form subjects for the chissel of the statuary, as well as for the pencil of the painter *."

Such were the private opinions, and such was the avowed conduct of the principal French *regenerators*. No wonder, therefore, if the world has to deplore so many barbarities since perpetrated by their accomplices, instruments, or disciples. These were the men held out every where as the models of patriotism, on whom German *illuminati* wrote panegyrics, and to whom English *reformers* sent addresses; whose cause was defended in our senate, and even praised in our pulpits. To strip these monstrous impostors of their borrowed but imposing garb, and to expose their native deformity to the common eye and universal abhorrence, is, therefore, to render a service to society. This will be most effectually accomplished by publishing their original and confidential sentiments, fortunately preserved by the malicious vengeance of ever relentless factions.

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 24. & seq.

Mirabeau and Talleyrand were both noblemen by birth, both marked by nature to inspire mistrust, both vicious in their youth, corrupt and profligate in maturity, and in every social relation objects of horror. Both atheists and apostates, they forfeited their allegiance to their king to league with rebels, betrayed and deserted rebellion to unite again under the standard of royalty. Mirabeau died before he was tempted, or had an opportunity to commit new treasons. Talleyrand has since served, and betrayed by turns, his king, and every succeeding faction. Ambition, avarice, and women were the ruling passions of both; to gratify which, no infamy deterred them, no crime was left untried, and no excess unpractised. Difficulties could not divert, nor opposition appal Mirabeau; but under them Talleyrand shrunk into silence; he, however, as often attained his object, by undermining, as the former conquered by bold and open assaults. With a genius that astonished, with abilities that enraptured, with an enthusiasm that moved, animated and electrified the hearts of all who heard or beheld him, when Mirabeau spoke, his audience forgot the scandalous immorality of his life, the hideous features of his face, and the grotesque gesticulations of his person. By his activity in the committees and among the Jacobins, and by the facility with which he composed popular addresses or decrees, Talleyrand was nearly as dangerous to loyalty and religion, when in his closet, as Mirabeau when in the tribune, because all France could not hear the latter, and not only France, but all Europe could read the writings of the former. The death of Mirabeau was regarded in France as a public calamity; the life of Talleyrand will, by remotest posterity, be bewailed as one of these scourges with which, instead of pestilence or earthquakes, providence, in his wrath, sometimes punishes generations. From the lives of Talleyrand, and his present guilty master, Buonaparte, mankind has undergone more torments in some few years, than ages had previously endured from devastations, from the convulsions of nature, or from disease and pestilence.

The decrees for altering the establishment of the clergy had already been put in force. The election of new bishops and pastors, in lieu of those who refused to take the oaths, was carried on with great activity throughout the kingdom; and the pope's decision against the new constitution of the clergy was publicly known. Considerable difficulties arose in obtaining consecration from a constitutional prelate, for those who had been newly raised to episcopal sees. Even the apostate bishops of Sens and Orleans resolutely refused the office; but the Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand), whose conduct had been always a scandalous, and often an inexplicable enigma, was not so honest, delicate, or scrupulous. Having obtained bribes from the court, and from the Duke of Orleans, and embezzled assignats in the committee of finance, he modestly resigned his see, after taking the apostate oath, not willing, as he said, "to have his actions ascribed to *interested* motives." The bishopric of Paris was not at first declared vacant, because the incumbent, the old and respectable M. de

Juigné was out of France; but his resolution to be faithful to his God, as well as to his king, being made known, his see was conferred on a priest of the name of Gobel, notorious for his venality, profligacy, and ingratitude, but who, in the present state of the public mind, was thought worthy of election to three several prelacies, those of the upper Rhine, the upper Marne, and the metropolis. As he could not retain all, he chose the latter, and was installed with great pomp, receiving *canonical institution*, at the same time, from the Bishop Talleyrand, and from the jacobins of the Paris municipality. This revolutionary prelate is the person who, on the 7th of November, 1793, at the age of seventy, had the baseness to declare at the bar of the regicide national convention, "That he had during sixty years of his life been an hypocrite and impostor, in professing the Christian religion, which he knew had no other basis than falsehood and error." He lent his cathedral of *Notre Dame* for the celebration of a feast to the goddess of reason, represented by a common prostitute, and was one of the first to kneel before this republican divinity *. It is impossible to decide who was the vilest and most wicked of the two, the consecrator Talleyrand or the consecrated Gobel. But perhaps no building, erected to the adoration of our Saviour, has been more sacrilegiously polluted, than the French metropolitan church of *Notre Dame*. There, besides Talleyrand's consecration, Gobel's installation, the worship of the goddess of reason, and the blasphemy of Theophilanthropists, the apostate to Christ as well as to Mahomet, the murderer and poisoner, Napoleon Buonaparte, has lately been crowned an emperor of the French ! ! !

---

* See Dictionnaire Biographique, vol. ii. art. Gobel.

Notwithstanding Talleyrand's plots and acts, yet the triumph of the anti-religious party was not complete. They saw with regret and indignation, that the constitutional, or as they more justly were called, the interceding clergy, were viewed with general contempt, while the ejected and non-juring priests were every where treated with the utmost regard; and the homage and affection of the pious were manifestly increased. The jacobin municipality of Paris forbad the reading of prayers in any parish church, except by the apostate priests; and enjoined the convents and hospitals not to permit the public to attend divine service in their chapels. The French *reforming philosophers*, to evince their religious as well as political *toleration*, instigated mobs, carrying rods, to force open the doors of all these places of worship, and to scourge, with the utmost cruelty, all the nuns and women whom they found engaged in acts of devotion. Talleyrand was then a member of the department; but neither this body, nor the municipality, took any effectual measures for restraining these indecent outrages; on the contrary, they encouraged and protected the mobs, whose insolent brutality soon became so grievous a persecution, as to cost the health of many, and even the lives of some of the most virtuous and religious among the sex.

On the 13th of April 1791 the pope published a monitory against the civil constitution of the French clergy, in which his holiness complained loudly against the Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand,) as "an impious wretch, who had imposed his sacrilegious hands on intruding clergymen, and suspended him from all his episcopal functions, declaring him excommunicated unless he recanted his errors within forty days." In return, Talleyrand encouraged the rabble, now called by the Parisians *La Secte des Talleyrandists*, to burn the sovereign pontiff in effigy; and on the 10th of June the legislature passed a decree, declaring all briefs, bulls, and receipts of the court of Rome, void in France, unless sanctioned and formally adopted by the national assembly. The usual modes of persecution and calumny were adopted to change the public opinion on these points, or at least to suppress the indications of it; while the remaining property of the church was rapidly falling into the grasp of greedy and corrupt legislators; and the popular mind was debauched by abject and absurd idolatry to the principal opponents of the Christian revelation. Reports were assiduously circulated of riots and insurrections formed by the non-juring clergy and their partisans in the departments; and they were falsely accused of inspiring sentiments equally barbarous and unchristian. Pursuant to a motion of Talleyrand, the *superfluous* plate of the churches (and all plate for divine service, he regarded, not only as superfluous, but unnecessary,) was ordered to be coined into money. A most ridiculous decree, since the chief value consisted in the workmanship,

ship; and the quantity of fillagreed and embossed silver, which in a shrine was considered inestimable, would on emerging from the crucible produce only a few crowns; sums hardly sufficient to pay for the festivity of *pantheonising* (as the revolutionary phrase was) Mirabeau, Rousseau, and Voltaire, which were decreed by the assembly, and in the course of the year performed with great pomp. On these occasions Talleyrand had assumed the office of revolutionary grand master of the ceremonies, in exchange for the worn-out dignity of a revolutionary high priest *.

Although Louis XVI. had been prevailed on to sanction the decree respecting the clergy, he yielded only to the impulse of force; and his conscience was daily racked with increasing torture, by reflections on the injury he had done to the religion of his fathers, and the cruel violence he saw daily committed under pretence of giving effect to that decree. The well-concerted project of Mirabeau for ameliorating the condition of the king, and preserving the state from subversion, died with him; as no individual could be found capable of acting the extensive and important part assigned to that great revolutionist. The project of repairing to Montmedy was retained, till it was encumbered with another, suggested by the minister of the foreign department, M. de Montmorin, by which the great continental powers were to form a pretended coalition, to marshal inefficient armies, and wage an imaginary war, while the king's friends, by their exertions in all parts of the kingdom, were to sway the public spirit to an anxious desire of peace, military subordination, the establishment of the ancient monarchical constitution, freed from its abuses, and the return of the emigrants. This plan, which required the combination of an infinity of subordinate circumstances, the execution of which would have been deranged by failure, indiscretion, or selfishness, in any of the numerous domestic or foreign agents, who must necessarily be trusted and employed, was unfortunately adopted by the king. That time might be afforded for the necessary negociations and preparations, his Majesty informed M. de Bouillé, that his intention of going to Montmedy was postponed, but not relinquished *.

---

* See Debates and Decrees of the National Assembly. La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 13. Bertrand's Annals, vol. iii. p. 443, 444; vol. iv. p. 4. 77. 79. 227; and Barruel's History of the French Clergy.

Since the death of Mirabeau, Talleyrand had united himself more closely with La Fayette, the two brothers La Methe, and other ambitious but narrow-minded partisans of the constituent faction, who in the plenitude of their treachery, and ingratitude to their king, wished to tyrannise over France in his name. This could only be effected by giving him further mortifications, or by heaping on him unexpected indignities; by offering him new insults, or by inspiring him with real alarm for his own safety, as well as for that of his queen, children, and relatives. As a preliminary part of this plan, the exertions of the demagogues, and of La Fayette, and Talleyrand in particular, were daily directed to the object of compelling the king to attend divine service, and receive the sacrament from the hands of an apostate priest. For this purpose the assembly, the clubs, and the groupes in the

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 14. Bertrand's Annals, vol. iv. p. 6. 9, and 10; and the Correspondence between him and Mr. Fox in the ſame work, vol. ix. p. 25.

streets were assailed with perpetual declamations, and the jacobins journals were filled with seditious addresses and profane paragraphs. La Fayette and Talleyrand, in hopes of accomplishing this point, carried impiety, insult, and ribaldry, even into the royal cabinet; while their worthy coadjutors, the mob and the national guards without, made the palace re-echo their songs, threats, and execrations. The people were said to express particular anxiety, that the king should receive the sacrament at Easter from Talleyrand, or some other priest of the perjured class. But his majeſty, far from yielding in a point which tormented his conscience, resolved to follow the advice of the Bishop of Clermont, given purely on religious grounds, by suspending the pascal communion; and to avoid the importunities and acts of insolence, to which he foresaw, this determination would expose him, he resolved to pass that week at St. Cloud. But on the 18th of April in the morning, as soon as the carriages were drawn out, and the royal family had taken their seats, they were surrounded by an innumerable mob and banditti, who clamorously insisted that the coaches should not be permitted to pass; mingling with their vociferations the grossest abuse and obscenity; and even insulting the queen by acts of horrible indecency. La Fayette pretended to clear the way, but his troops of course refused to act against the people, and according to agreement he was furiously attacked by Danton and the butcher Le Gendre, who encouraged and directed the proceedings of the rabble. At last, after enduring every species of licentious insult during an hour and a half, the king and the royal family returned to the palace, which, notwithstanding all the rhetoric of seditious orators, all the artful sophistry of factions, and all the misrepresentations of the municipality and the national assembly, could not now be considered in any other point of view than as their jail. The king carried his complaints, in person, to the assembly, and persisted in this resolution of visiting St. Cloud; but the legislature, though they applauded those parts of his speech, that promised to maintain the constitution, and particularly the civil constitution of the clergy, adopted no resolution for facilitating his journey;

ney; and his majesty was forced to submit to the humiliation of renouncing it in silence.

Elated by their triumph, the infidels and factions renewed their violences against the nonjuring priests; and the king, feeling sincerely for their situation, accepted, in an evil hour, the tender of counsel and assistance, which was made him by the two brothers La Methe, whose ignorance equalled their presumption and treachery, and who therefore had been forced to follow the secret guidance of Talleyrand, not yet personally admitted to the council chamber of his outraged sovereign. Accordingly, to save the unfortunate ecclesiastics, who appeared exposed to every danger and persecution on his account, he was persuaded to dismiss them from about his person, and even to do violence to his conscience, by hearing mass performed on Easter-day at the church of *St. Germain Auxerre* by an apostate priest. In compliance with another advice of the same La Methes, and in contradiction to that of his older, more loyal, and better friends, he adopted the fatal and impolitic measure of writing, on the 23d of April, to all his ministers at foreign courts a letter of instructions, from the pen of Talleyrand, enabling them to declare his entire approbation of the revolution, his desire to maintain the constitution, and an avowal, that he considered himself perfectly free and happy. In vain did M. de Montmorin oppose, by the soundest reasons, the transmission of this disgraceful letter. It was resolved on, and executed too suddenly for his arguments to prevail. The national assembly heard it read with expressions of rapture, and sent, pursuant to Talleyrand's motion to that effect, a deputation to congratulate the king. The royalists, more clear-sighted and more honest, took no share in these transports; and the prince himself had the mortification, on the very next day, to find M. de Montmorin's prophecy verified, the enthusiasm of the moment entirely exhausted, and a party gaining credit, by declaring that the professions were too extensive to be sincere *. Thus the dupe of the perfidy of traitors, and of the plots of intriguers, the unfor-

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 16, and the king's letter in the periodical papers and works, and in Bertrand's Annals, vol. iv. Appendix, p. 98.

tunate, well-meaning monarch fell a victim to his own patriotism, as well as to his own indiscretion.

The visible and great influence of the La Methes, Talleyrand, and other persons of the ruling faction had acquired at Court, alarmed even the jacobins, who in consequence caused a decree to pass, which to superficial observers appeared an heroic instance of self-denial, but which was in truth an act of consummate folly, and exposed the kingdom to inevitable evils. It imported, that no member of the existing legislature should be eligible to a seat in the next; a necessary consequence of which was, that those who framed the constitution would have no power of explaining or enforcing its laws; and all the experience which they had acquired in the transaction of business was thrown aside, in order to make way for fresh innovators, new speculatists, new systems, and of course new parties, new dangers, and new violence. They also decreed, that no member of any legislative body should accept a place in administration, till four years after its dissolution. This latter greatly disappointed Talleyrand, who was now in a fair way to see his ambition gratified, and his wishes realised, in becoming the superintendant of the finances, a place formerly in France always united with that of a prime minister *.

During these transactions the rigour of the king's confinement, and the insults he was obliged to sustain, were hourly augmenting. His old friends and faithful adherents were debarred from his presence, and he was encompassed with spies, who watched all his words and actions for the purpose of reporting them to his disadvantage, and furnishing topics of declamation to the demagogues. The new connection into which he had been drawn with the La Methes, Talleyrand, and other intriguers, was attended with no good to counterbalance the infinite prejudice it produced. Their assistance was not sufficiently explicit, nor their exertions sufficiently decided, to repair the effects of that consternation which his letter to the ambassadors produced in the minds of his friends in all quarters, to countervail the triumph of those who

---

* See La Politique d'un Indigne Peregord, p. 48, and the debates in the daily papers and periodical works.

hated, or the despair of those who still adhered to the crown. The royalists, in fact, saw their only resource, the only bond of union which they could consistently avow, snatched from them by the apparently unsolicited declaration of the king, that he approved of a revolution which deposed him, admired exertions which ruined him, and felt free in a state, where every semblance of liberty was denied him.

Mirabeau's plan for placing Louis XVI. at the head of his army to effect a change in the proceedings which threatened to destroy his government, was still pursued; but circumstances were widely altered since the period when it was first proposed, and when it appeared so feasible and proper. The royal authority was much degraded by repeated shocks; and those who were, from fear of popular tyranny, prepared to rally round the throne, differed among themselves in almost every principle of government, and detested each other as much as their common foes, the republicans and the jacobins. The true and pure royalists were attached to the old forms with some new improvements, while La Fayette, Talleyrand, and other constitutional royalists, were rivetted to the new democratic intrusions. The former considered all the acts of the national assembly as encroachments which ought to be rescinded, but the latter thought them all wise and reasonable; and desired only to form a strong mound against further innovation. No concordant opinions were entertained on any great or general subject; and among the parties attached to the king, a discussion on the limits of his authority, on the re-instatement of nobility, or restoration of the clergy, would have given birth to endless diversities of opinion, and inextinguishable feuds. These diversities of opinion among the king's friends produced great embarrassments in his proceedings; all concurred in the necessity of his escaping from Paris, but as they agreed in no general view of any subject, each party presented separate plans. After many delays, the day of his departure was at length fixed, and M. de Bouillé received directions to prepare for the king's escape and reception at Montmedy. The instructions were faithfully observed, but the general's situation was much changed for the worse, since the project was first recommended. The sphere of his authority was straitened, the number of his troops diminished, and their fidelity shaken by the removal of old, and introduction of new regiments. When all the preparations were completed, and troops ordered to every station of the journey, the king found it necessary to postpone his departure four and twenty hours. This delay, besides deranging the modes of proceeding already fixed, had the further bad effect of rendering the execution of the whole plan doubtful, and introducing an uncertainty into the minds of some officers, which was productive of great disasters.

At a quarter of an hour before midnight, on the 20th of June, the royal captives quitted their prison. La Fayette had visited them at a late hour, and in crossing the court-yard they met him twice. Although his conduct suggested some sinister forebodings, the fugitives fortunately, as they thought, gained their carriages in safety, and passed through the Port St. Martin to Bondè. At Montmirel the harness of the king's coach broke, which occasioned a delay of two hours before it could be repaired; and as none of the party thought of dispatching a courier to the next detachment of troops, the officers stationed at Pont du Somuelles, contrary to the orders they had received from their general, quitted their post, and spreading through the other detachments the report that the king was not to be expected, proceeded for Varennes. On reaching St. Menehoud, the king was recognized by Drouet the postmaster of the town, who dispatched his son to Varennes. He then permitted the king to depart, but instigated the people to hinder the dragoons from following; and his orders were implicitly obeyed. On his arrival at Varennes, the king was obliged to stop at the entrance of the town from a disappointment in the relays; two *gardes de corps* were dispatched to seek them, and the queen herself alighted to gain information. Drouet, accompanied by one Guilleaume, had, however, by a bye road reached Varennes before them, and prepared measures to restrain their progress. The royal carriage was stopped under an arch by eight or nine men, stationed for the purpose, and the too humane and good king having forbid all resistance which might occasion bloodshed, was, with his family, conducted to a neighbouring house, where the municipality was assembled. The king, instead of commanding, pathetically expostulated for permission to proceed with his family to a place of safety, but in vain. A loaded waggon was overturned on the bridge to prevent his proceeding. The tocsin rung for ten leagues round; and legions of armed peasantry poured in to secure the persons of the royal family, whom they guarded with the utmost vigilance.

Meanwhile Paris exhibited a scene of consternation and confusion; every party pursued some scheme for promoting its own peculiar views; and every individual felt a portion of the alarm occasioned by a great and unexpected crisis. La Fayette, after dispatching his aide de camp, M. de Romeuf, in pursuit of the king, sent for Talleyrand, Barnave, and the two La Methes, to consult together. The Duke of Orleans collected round him Sieyes, Sillery, Voidel, and others his accomplices. The national assembly deliberated, the jacobins trembled and threatened, and the cordeliers raved. The parties without doors, and particularly the new formed republican faction, were employed with great activity in endeavouring to give a bias to the public mind. The coffee-houses were generally crowded, and the shops and the theatres shut. A band, consisting of the dregs of the mob, paraded the streets, headed by Hebert, the author and editor of *Pere Duchesne*, throwing down and trampling under foot all signs of the king and queen, and all emblems of royalty. Hand-bills, abusing the royal family, were profusely distributed. A pamphlet entitled "*Memoires du ci-devant Roi*" was hawked in the streets, and numbers of libels against the unfortunate queen were sold or given away in the Palais Royal, by the booksellers in the pay of the Duke of Orleans. The majority of citizens, however, viewed these proceedings with apprehension and alarm, which they testified by repeated inquiries, and by an unusual solemnity and earnestness of demeanour. The author was at that time at Paris, and witnessed what he relates. He has had the misfortune to be present at the horrid catastrophes of the 14th of July, and of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789; of the federation of the 14th July 1790; of the insurrection, and insult offered the king on the

20th of June; his imprisonment on the 10th of August; and the massacres of prisoners on the 2d, 3d, and 4th September, 1792. At all these periods the Parisian mobs and jacobin banditti were insolent, audacious, and cruel, because they were certain of little or no opposition, and apprehended nothing. But during the king's journey to Varennes few, if any, acts of violence were offered, and no person lost his life. All parties, equally guilty, and equally treacherous, then suspected each other, and dreaded the return of order and justice. A rebellious rabble, as well as rebellious individuals, are moderate and prudent from dread of punishment, or turbulent and daring from being certain of impunity. The government that has authority and means enough to enforce with vigour obedience of the laws, but neglects it, commits a suicide, and may be justly deemed a social *felo de se*.

In the evening of the 23d of June La Fayette's aide de camp arrived at Varennes, and the next day the royal family, notwithstanding their earnest intreaties, and some endeavours of M. de Bouillé, rendered ineffectual by the contrary

orders

orders of the good king, were obliged to accompany him back to Paris. They travelled by short stages, under the escort of six thousand national guards, who were in their way augmented to twenty thousand, including all the disorderly vagabonds that could be collected. The king and queen had the mortification of seeing their faithful attendants arrested, chained and ill-treated at Varennes; and in their first day's journey had the still greater horror of seeing M. de Dampierre, an old nobleman of Champagne, murdered by the side of their coach for merely endeavouring to shew them some marks of respect. He fell, pierced with three musket-balls, crying *Vive le roi!* while his assasins, savagely yelling, drowned his voice with shouts of *Vive la nation!*

While the royal captives were thus proceeding towards the capital, the assembly was engaged in receiving deputations and framing decrees. On the 22d, at ten o'clock at night, the welcome tidings of the king's arrest reached them, and they immediately decreed, that Latour-Maubourg, Petion, and Barnave, all distinguished for their opposition to the court, and Dumas, adjutant-general of the national guard, should escort the *state prisoners* to Paris. Talleyrand was offered by the assembly to be one of the deputies entrusted with this *honourable* mission, but for reasons, best known to himself, he declined the *honour*. On the 25th the assembly was informed, that the royal family would arrive in the capital between two and three o'clock in the afternoon; and decreed in consequence, that on their entrance in the castle of the Thuilleries, the king, the queen, and the dauphin, should be separately guarded, and their declarations heard without delay, to serve as a basis for the proceedings of the assembly.

The royal family, in their slow progress to Paris, were surrounded by an immense multitude; and it was more than once suspected, that attempts would be made against their lives. In the carriage with the king, queen, princess Elizabeth, the dauphin, and princess royal, sat the three commissioners from the assembly. This crowd, the heat of the day, and the dust raised by the guards and the mob, incommoded them almost to fainting; but their complaints excited only derision or insult. On their arrival in the capital,

pital, they were received with gloomy silence and studied disrespect. An order was placarded, importing, that whoever applauded the king should be bastinadoed, whoever insulted him applauded. At his appearance La Fayette called out, "hats on, let nobody be uncovered *;" and, in the immense crowd, no one person had the courage to disobey. The national guards were forbid to present their arms, and the three faithful *gardes de corps*, who attended the royal family in their journey, being brought into the city, bound and chained to the coachman's box of the king's carriage, were with difficulty rescued alive from the jacobin bandittis, who, after firing at them with pistols, and stabbing them with daggers, attempted, even in the court yard of the Thuillery palace, to tear them to pieces.

Since the revolution, after the murder of Louis XVI, took an unexpected turn for the conspirators of different preceding factions, they all, except the jacobins, accused each other of the wretchedness of France, as well as of their private sufferings, and of being the cause of both, in betraying the confidence of their king, with respect to his journey to Montmedy. That Drouet, who stopped his sovereign, was a tool in the hand of traitors there is little doubt, but who these traitors were, notwithstanding the researches of able historians, remains still undecided. During the terrible anarchy in 1793 and 1794, and the licentiousness of the press during the same period, every thing which could expose or inculpate defeated or rival factions was printed; but on account of the general league against France, and her desolating and anti-social doctrine, all communication was cut off with other states, and their publications, though curious and useful, (since they contained authentic materials for writing the history of the times) disappeared with the party, that had made them public, or, after Robespierre's death, were bought up by the more politic members of the committee of public safety, to preserve *intact* the *honour* and *patriotism* of the pillars of the revolution, or, as they were called the patriots of 1789 *. To these occurrences it may certainly be ascribed that so few of the numerous French works and pamphlets of these years found their way into this country. Among these, the correspondence captured in the houses of emigrants, during the domiciliary visits or sequestrations, or seized among their luggage during the campaigns in Champagne and Brabant 1792, and in Alsace and the Palatinate 1793 are very interesting, and were printed by the order of the government, and threw considerable light on some catastrophes of the revolution; and on the conduct of persons who figured in them. Two of the former letters from Talleyrand to the Countess of F——hault prove that Louis XVI was betrayed, that women about the queen were the traitors, that La Fayette, Talleyrand, and the two La Mettes, with Barnave, were in their confidence; and that these faithless men, whose object was to utterly extinguish the influence of the emigrated or true royalists, and to force the king to govern for the future according to their views, were the principal plotters of this disgrace brought on their prince, and the dread-

---

* The author saw the royal captives pass on the Boulevards, and heard La Fayette repeatedly order the people to keep on their hats. Even hair-dressers, who, at Paris, during the summer, walk without hats, were commanded by him to tie handkerchiefs round their heads, as signs of contempt.

---

* See La Denonciation de Le Cointre, and Cambon's report to the National Convention, October 1794.

ful consequences that have followed for their country and Europe. The first letter is dated June 21, at six o'clock in the morning: "I cannot, as I intended, breakfast with you to to-day. As I supposed last night, the bird is uncaged and flown. The commander, La Fayette, is waiting for me, and we shall take such measures, by clipping his wings, as that no future flight can be apprehended. The Coblentz bird-catchers shall, to their disgrace and ruin, be forced to acknowledge our superior adroitness; and experience that it is more easy to get in than to get out of our snares. Do not be uneasy. Paris and the patriots will shew themselves *calm and great*. In some few days the revolution will be perfect. La Fayette sends, *pro forma*, a trusty officer in pursuit of the fugitives, whom, according to our infallible arrangements, he will find both snug and safe." The second letter is of the 26th of June. "Tell *Mesdames* Campan and Trouin to apprehend nothing. If the queen suspects them, and turns them away, (they were chambermaids to the queen) their patriotism shall secrectly be rewarded by the assembly; and they shall, at all events, be no losers by the great services they have performed. It was necessary to let Gouvion, the governor of the palace of the Thuilleries, into the secret; but, notwithstanding his bluntness, he is discretion itself. As to La Fayette and myself, we can have no doubt or fear; but neither the Lamethes nor Barnave knew by whom the nation was to be served, though they were well acquainted with our precautions to prevent the ruin of the patriots and of the revolution. Had the Capets, (the Bourbons) agreed to my plan of retiring to Lyons, or of La Fayette's to adjourn to Rouen, they would not have been in their present dilemma, nor brought on us opposers worse than those at Coblentz; I mean the republicans, whose dangerous activity it requires all our popularity and efforts to combat and to vanquish. Did I not act well in not accepting of the place as a deputy to meet the fugitives? Latour-Maubourg and Petion, for their brutality are blamed by all moderate men, and execrated by the staunch royalists, whilst Barnave, for his civility, is become suspected by the patriots, and has been denounced at the Jacobins *."

The national assembly had, according to the proposal of Talleyrand, decreed, that the examinations of the king and the queen should be taken

---

* La Correspondence d' Infames Emigrés, tom. iv. p. 24. and 25.

by commissioners from their body; but those of the other persons arrested, by the commissary of the section of the Thuilleries. The king would not submit to an examination, but consented to explain the facts referred to in the decree. He assigned as motives of his departure the insults to which he had been exposed on the 18th of April, and the pamphlets published to excite violence against himself and family. As these insults remained unpunished, and he expected neither safety nor common decency, while he remained at Paris, he wished to leave it; but was obliged to quit the palace privately and without attendants, because it would have been impossible to do it publicly. He did not intend to fly the kingdom, nor had he concerted his plans with foreign powers, or with his relations, or any other Frenchmen who had quitted the kingdom. As a proof that he did not mean to leave France, he observed, that apartments were prepared for him at Montmedy; a place which he selected, because it was fortified and near the frontiers, where he could have repelled an invasion, if attempted. He explained these complaints in the memorial he left behind at his departure, referring to the manner in which the constitutional decrees had been separately presented to him; but declared, that having in the course of his journey, found the public opinion decidedly in favour of the constitution, he had become convinced how necessary it was for the prosperity of this constitution to give force to the powers established to maintain public order. The moment he was acquainted with the public will, he did not hesitate, to sacrifice his own individual feelings and interests to the happiness of the people; and he would willingly forget the sufferings and disagreeable events he had experienced, to restore peace and tranquillity to the nation. The queen's declaration, which was short, corroborated, in some points, what had been explained by the king, and expressed her firm resolution to accompany him on every occasion; but had he designed to quit the kingdom, she would have used all her influence in dissuading him.

The declarations of both their majesties were composed by Talleyrand, according to their desire, and for which he received 60,000 livres (2,500l.) An equal sum was promised him, and paid him, for causing these declarations, not only to be approved by the other leaders of the constitutional party, but for persuading them to accompany their approbation with a threat, as the only means of averting the design, which was now openly professed, of bringing the king and the queen to trial *. M. de Bouillé, who had escaped from France, also wrote to the assembly, avowing himself the only instigator of the journey; a measure which drew on him the honourable censure of that body, but did not serve the royal cause so much as this brave and loyal warrior expected.

The exertions of the new republican faction to procure the king's trial, now gave serious alarm, not only to the pure royalists, but to the pretended friends of the revolutionary monarchical constitution. At the instigation of the republicans, addresses and petitions were daily presented, requiring the king's deposition, and even his execution. Condorcet, Brissot, and Thomas Paine, established a periodical paper, called *Le Republicain*, in which they boldly avowed opinions hostile to monarchical government; but the idea of abolishing the royal office was not yet made familiar to the public mind, and they were answered by Talleyrand, Abbé Sieyes, and other writers in the pay of the court, or of the Duke of Orleans. An opinion more current, and more acceptable, promoted by Talleyrand and Barnave, was, that the king would be deposed, the dauphin proclaimed, and a regent, or council of regency, established during his minority. The decree for taking this young prince's education out of the hands of his parents, and bestowing it on some persons appointed by themselves, gave a colour to this opinion; and the Duke of Orleans recommended himself to popularity, by renouncing all claim, which his faction and the constitution might give him, to the office of regent. This proceeding excited various animadversions. The duke was known to be, at the same period, actually plotting to the king's prejudice; and it was proved that his renunciation of the regency was made in hopes that the assembly would call him to the throne, with which he had been flattered so often by Talleyrand, Sieyes, Sillery, Petion, and his other accomplices *.

---

* See Grand Trahison de la Fayette, Baillie, Talleyrand, &c. a l'imprimerie de L'ami du People, p. 4. & seq.

While intrigue was thus busy, in every quarter, among the factious and seditious against the unfortunate sovereign, he, together with his queen

---

* La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 18, and 19.

and family, were the victims of increased and unrestrained insolence. La Fayette, Talleyrand, Barnave and the Lamethes, the leading members of the constitutional faction, regularly met and deliberated. They agreed, that in order to terrify the king into full obedience, and to remove the imputation cast on them by the jacobins and republicans, of having been accessary to his escape, it was necessary to watch the royal captives with unceasing jealousy, and to confine them with the utmost severity. They were not permitted either to see, speak, or write to each other; and no person was allowed to speak to, or wait on them, except with La Fayette's permission, and in the presence of the officer of the national guard on duty. Every hour in the night, as well as day, the centries, placed in their apartments, even in their bed-rooms, were relieved; and the prisoners were to answer, when called, to prove their presence. Guards were also placed on the roof of the palace; and it was justly observed of La Fayette, that this revolutionary general, with the office, had acquired the manners of a jailor, using his virtuous and patriotic prince with the most brutal insolence; and the queen and her children, so as to rouse indignation, and inspire compassion, even in the soldiers about them, though selected as the most unfeeling of their corps. To this barbarous conduct of La Fayette Louis XVI. ascribed all his future sufferings from his jacobin jailors and sans culottes assassins. Had not La Fayette, at this period, after carrying his sovereign in triumph through the streets of Paris, shut him up a prisoner in the Thuillery palace, the jacobins would not, fourteen months afterwards, have dared to drag him publicly a prisoner from this same palace to the temple. Had not La Fayette, in 1791, degraded monarchy in the person of his king, the jacobins would never have had the savage ferocity, in 1793, after abolishing monarchy, to butcher their sovereign. As this stupid, but audacious rebel, was always advised by Talleyrand, and some few other accomplices, like him, debased noblemen, it is against him, and against them, that the curses of mankind ought to be pronounced for all the misery since endured. The revolutionary rabble, in imitating the examples of their revolutionary superiors, surpassed them indeed in enormities; but this is nothing but a natural consequence. The virtuous, delicate,

licate, and sensible minds of Louis XVI, of his royal consort, and of his immaculate sister, the Princess Elizabeth, endured more from the stings inflicted by the studied and refined cruelty of La Fayette and his gang, than from the death-blows they soon afterwards received from their successors and disciples, the blood-thirsty jacobins *.

The task of framing a report on the events of the 21st of June was referred to the united committees of the assembly, on the motion of Talleyrand, who had now ingratiated himself so far as to be the secret and confidential counsellor of Louis XVI; but while they were preparing their opinion, the city was agitated by innumerable pamphlets and placards, accusations and de-

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans, &c. p. 20. and Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 19. The dastardly traitor, La Fayette, is treated by Buonaparte as he deserves. Last June, after the usurper's emperor-making, he demanded permission to go to America, which was obtained, upon condition of giving up, for a pension of 6000 livres (250l.), all his property to his son, who is a colonel under the Corsican. The friend of liberty, and the promulgator of the rights of man then withdrew his petition, and declared himself ready to continue a submissive slave to the upstart tyrant, preferring bondage and property to liberty and equality. Les Nouvelles à la Main, Messidor, year xii. No. 3. p. 4.

nunciations. The question, whether the king should be put on his trial occupied all conversation, and every one decided on it as his affection or hatred, his hopes or his fears, his private judgment, or the dictates of his party suggested. All the debates in the national assembly, though not directly referring to this subject, were so conducted as to shew that it chiefly, if not solely, engaged the thoughts of the members. The royalists were wisely silent on almost every occasion, since their exertions would only have given additional vigour and popularity to the republicans, and, perhaps, disgusted or terrified the constitutionalists, who were now bought over, and, therefore, openly began to espouse the royal cause. But though they were silent in the hall of the legislature, they published an address to the people, which produced a powerful effect in favour of their cause: It was circulated throughout the kingdom, with the recommendation of 290 of their signatures. None of them were either placemen or pensioners of the court, but none had either been the instigators, promoters, protectors, or accomplices of rebellion. Their pure, disinterested and spirited loyalty upheld the undermined and tottering throne for some few months longer.

Though the unmerited misfortunes of Louis XVI ought to have excited the indignation, and roused to arms all other legitimate princes, no soldier was ordered into the field, and the Spanish ambassador at Paris was the only diplomatic agent, who, in the name of his master, presented a mild, conciliatory note, in favour of the enchained sovereign. The manner in which it was noticed by the French rebels was another serious warning, disregarded by kings as well as by their counsellors. The Spanish note was, without being *honoured* with public reading, referred to the diplomatic committee, ; and according to the report made in its name by Talleyrand, the national assembly treated it with great rudeness and democratical insolence, and ordered *their* minister for foreign affairs to answer, "that France would never interfere in the affairs of other nations, nor permit their interference in hers;" or which is the same thing, "whenever a set of plunderers and murderers in France succeeded in overturning the lawful government of their country, and elected for their chief the most wicked or barbarous of their accomplices, whether a Robespierre or a Buonaparte, though, by such an outrage, they encouraged crimes and rebellion in all other states, foreign sovereigns are bound to send new credentials to their representatives in France, and to salute the vile and guilty usurper as their equal. This revolutionary diplomacy has since been adopted by Talleyrand under the directory, as well as under the consulate; but had sovereigns known their dangers, and ministers done their duty in 1791, loyalty and religion would not have been trampled upon by rebellion and atheism; and Buonaparte, instead of audaciously dictating to princes, would have quietly commanded a company of cannoniers, obeying in a barrack instead of ruling in a palace.

At length the united committees declaring themselves prepared, the names of the members of the assembly were called over, and the 13th of July was appointed for hearing the report. On that day the author of this life, published his first and youthful mite in the cause of suffering royalty, in a tract of thirty-two pages, entitled "*Le Regne de Louis XVI. mis sous, les yeux de l'Europe,*" or "the reign of Louis XVI, laid before the eyes of Europe," which, at his own expence, he printed and profusely distributed *. He has been happy since to read in several histories, annals and memoirs of these times, that it is supposed to have produced the most beneficial effects among the members of the assembly, and even the public †. Muguet de Nanthou, reporter from the united committees, recited all the facts drawn from the declarations of the king and queen, and the examinations of other persons.

---

* This as well as all other publications of the author, either in English or French, with the sole exception of the Revolutionary Plutarch, were printed at his own expence, given away to booksellers, or distributed gratis among the people. For this his name is found upon the list of proscription, but he defies any body to find it either on the civil list of princes or republicans. Those whose selfish hearts judge others according to their own vile passions, may suspect the existence of disinterested loyalty; but that man is an infamous calumniator, who says that the author has received from the Bourbon princes any presents or remuneration for his literary productions more than for his military exertions. He has, and shall serve them to the utmost of his power, but they shall never know who he is, before they are restored to their rank in France.

† See La Grande Trahison de la Fayette, Bailly, Talleyrand, &c. p. 9. In the note it is falsely asserted that the supposed author, Mallet du Pan, had received 1000 louis d'ors for this tract, and La Politique d'un Infame Peregord, p. 22. states its utility, and that it was written by a *Volunteer* Royalist, an English *Jacobite*.

He discussed at length the question, whether the king should be brought to trial. On the first point, it was considered as demonstrated, that the whole blame must be ascribed to the Marquis de Bouillé, and on the other, that both the constitution and simple reason proved the negative. This report was debated with great fierceness, during the two days, in which the constitutional party would not press their advantages to the utmost, but indulged the wild speculations of Robespierre, Petion, Rewbell, and Merlin, and permitted the reading of many incendiary petitions from the Jacobins and other anarchists. A decree was at length adopted on the 16th, enacting, that if the king, after having sworn to the constitution, should retract, or if he should put himself at the head of a military force, or direct his generals to act against the nation, or forbear to oppose any such attempt by an authentic act, he should be judged to have abdicated the throne, and should then be considered as a simple citizen, and subject to impeachment in the ordinary forms, for all crimes committed after his abdication. Immediately after this decree, which had been penned by Talleyrand, the assembly proceeded to the vote on that relative to the events of the 21st of June, and decided exactly in the mode prescribed by the report of the committees.

So sudden a termination of the question was considered, and really was a manœuvre of La Fayette, Talleyrand, the Lameths, and Barnave, for preventing, or at least stopping the efforts of the Orleans and republican faction, who were known to be very busy in plotting among the clubs and the sections, preparing petitions, arranging deputations, and exciting insurrections. This opinion is confirmed by the conduct of Robespierre, who, in a transport of fury, rushed out of the hall of the assembly, exclaiming to the mob that surrounded it:—"All is lost, my friends, the king is to be restored!" The true royalists, although sensible of the dangers from which the royal family had been rescued, were not entirely satisfied with the termination of the affair, and that with reason. They saw with just horror a system established, which shamefully proposed and supposed as a possible case, the deposition of the hereditary monarch; and they were indignant at another decree, by which he was still suspended from the exercise of his functions, until the completion and acceptance of the constitution. For the pretended favourable decree concerning the king's journey to Varennes, his majesty signed *bons* to Talleyrand and other French *patriots* to the amount of three millions of livres, or 125,000l. to be paid by his treasurer of the civil list, within four months after his restoration to authority. From this may be concluded, that French *patriotism*, though a common, is not a cheap commodity *.

The unpaid *patriots*, or the parties that formed the minority in the national assembly, would not, however, resign the hope of obtaining, through the medium of the people, some alteration of the decision. In their dens they held councils, and meetings were planned for the purpose of organising an insurrection, under pretence of preparing a petition. But in these meetings a schism appeared between the parties, which afterwards produced important consequences. Some were anxious to frame the petition in terms which would favour the abolition of royalty; but La Clos, a confidential aſſociate, and trusty agent of the Duke of Orleans, proposed a paragraph which made an opening for the ascension of his patron to the throne. This addition was objected to by Brissot, and in some copies of the petition omitted, though it was retained in others. The paper was drawn up by a committee of the jacobin and cordeliers club, but copies were sent to every collection of the mob at Paris, and the next day was appointed to receive signatures, on the altar of the country, in the Champ de Mars *. This altar, erected in the name of public gratitude to Robespierre, had the following curious inscription:

---

* See La Politique d'un Indigne Peregord, p. 25.

A CELUI QUI A BIEN
MERITE'
DE LA PATRIE:
ROBESPIERRE.

To the disgrace of France, and to the shame of Europe, the throne of Buonaparte is erected on the same foundation as the altars of his worthy predecessor Robespierre. These two great criminals, at the period of their elevation, equally

---

* See An Appeal to Impartial Posterity, by Madame Roland, vol. i. p. 60, and La Conjuration d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 143, with the daily papers.

guilty, could claim nothing from public gratitude; but a gibbet was due to their atrocities by public justice.

The municipality, apprised of the intentions of the conspirators, issued a proclamation, forbidding all assemblies in groups, and ordered their commissioners, and the commander in chief of the national guard, to employ all the means with which the law invested them, for the maintenance of tranquillity. The mob were, however, not to be so deterred. They assembled, and commenced the day by hanging as aristocrats, a hair-dresser and an invalid soldier. Three members of the municipality who attended, were pelted with stones; and La Fayette's life was endangered by a pistol, which was discharged at him at a short distance by the journeyman printer Brune, at present Buonaparte's field-marshal and ambassador to the Ottoman porte. This assassin was secured, but La Fayette with ill-timed generosity, or rather from fear or timidity, suffered him to depart, though he confined several who had been throwing stones; *but they were without arms.* The violence of the mob still increasing, the municipality ordered martial law to be proclaimed; the red flag was accordingly exhibited from the windows of the town-hall, and at seven o'clock in the evening a detachment of the national guard marched to the scene of riot. A violent outcry was immediately raised of *Down with the red flag!* Down with the bayonets! Stones, and even some discharges of muſkets followed; when the military were ordered to fire over the heads of the people. This harmless explosion only augmented their audacity; but after sustaining repeated insults and violences, the national guard fired with ball, killed and wounded a considerable number, and put the rest to flight.

This was the first time since the revolution, that the military had not refused to fire on the people, and the first time the Parisian national guard had condescended to disperse riotous or rebellious mobs. The majority of the national assembly heard this exploit reported with infinite delight, approving the conduct of the municipality, by whose orders the red flag continued to be displayed till the 7th of August. La Fayette, Talleyrand, and the other members of the constitutional party, pursued their victory by obtaining a decree against all who should by placards, advertisements, pamphlets, or speeches, excite insurrection, murder, pillage, or disobedience to the law, and enacting that all accomplices should be punished as principals. This decree, which was a severe libel on all the previous proceedings of the assembly, passed with little opposition. It had the effect of terrifying, even to a degree of ridiculous panic, some of the boldest and most forward republicans. But as it was followed by no effectual exertion, except the seizure of a few printing presses, and an order to arrest some seditious journalists, which was never executed, the clubs soon resumed their meetings, the journalists their audacity, and the intriguers their correspondence. Long before the red flag was removed from the town-house, the massacre of the Champ de Mars was pointed out for execration and vengeance, not against the actors and perpetrators, but against their then imprisoned victim Louis XVI.

That the ruling party was not without their apprehensions during this contest with their rivals of the Orleans and republican factions, is evident from the moderation with which they used the advantages obtained by their victory in the *Champ de Mars*. Hitherto, since the revolution the aristocrats only had bled, and the *patriotic* brigands had with approbation, as well as with impunity, ranged in quest of prey and spoil; but by the late scene the new and revolutionary aristocracy had destroyed their own offspring, the sovereignty of the people, the rights of man, and the sacred duty of insurrection so often decreed, extolled, promised, and proclaimed. The fact is, that by their own impolitic, unfeeling, scandalous, and dangerous example, they were reduced to that deplorable alternative of either seeing their revolutionary progeny become parricides, or of becoming infanticides themselves. They, therefore, did not long deliberate about the choice, but even in their chastisements they shewed a paternal tenderness, which they themselves did not expect to experience had the fortune of the day declared against them. Their real situation, their present intrigues, and their future views, are tolerably well explained in a letter from Talleyrand to his *bonne amie* the Countess of F—hault, dated July 18th, eight o'clock in the evening.—"You may now send me back the effects deposited with you. The storm has blown over, and we are safe. Had not the day been ours, we should sooner have restored Louis (XVI.) his former power, and trusted to his clemency, than have entered into terms with our sanguinary opposers. We have now at the same time got the key to their secrets, and to the king's cabinet. With the crimes of the former we are as well acquainted, as with the weakness of the latter, whose authority we shall make use of to keep down our enemies, or to punish them. Last night every thing was finally settled and sealed in the *Chateau* (the Thuilleries). Though, in consequence of the absurd decree, we cannot occupy ostensible and public places, no law prevents the king from employing us as private advisers or secret counsellors. The government will therefore be for the future entirely in our hands. The general (La Fayette) is to have the military department; *Le Dauphinois* (Barnave) that of justice and of the interior; *L'ainé* (Alexander la Meth) the navy; *Le Cadet* (Charles La Meth) the finances, and the foreign affairs are to be directed by me; that is to say, nothing can be done in these respective departments without our knowledge or assent. Since I found out the deranged state of our finances, which, during the present confusion must increase, I have renounced my former ideas of having any thing to do with them. We must now hasten to finish our constitutional task, which alone can set our poor prisoner at liberty, or rather ex-exchange the fetters of the nation for ours. Embrace our Charles. I shall sup and sleep with you to-morrow *."

Thus Talleyrand in this letter discloses the secret, and the true motive of the actions and transactions of all those men, who with him raised the standard of rebellion, whose disinterestedness and love of liberty excited such a general enthusiasm. They wanted at any rate power and places, whether as freemen, slaves, or tyrants, was the same to them. Their country, and their countrymen came in for nothing in their ambitious speculations. They divide between themselves with more *sang froid* the government of France, than the Roman triumvirs did the provinces of the Roman republic. Their king they regard as a mere tool in their hands, with his rank and name to impose upon the public; and to whom they even talk of restoring his lost authority, as the last resource against contending factions. His sufferings are unnoticed as well as unlamented, but sooner than endanger their personal safety they are determined to put every thing upon a former footing, notwithstanding all the innocent blood spilt for liberty, all the fine speeches made for liberty, and the general overthrow of rank and property decreed to obtain what they called liberty. From La Fayette to Napoleon Buonaparte, all the *heroes* of the French revolution have individually shown themselves despicable and selfish cowards; all noble, generous, and patriotic sentiments, have been banished from their depraved minds; their guilty imagination saw every where plots and conspiracies. To preserve their own dear persons from these supposed attempts, dungeons have been crowded, scaffolds erected, kingdoms laid waste, and nations ruined. And unfortunately the world is not now nearer an end of these horrors than sixteen years ago. The infancy of the revolution has been long, sanguinary, and turbulent; and it is still in its cradle.

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 27 and 28.

When the assembly thus formally renounced the sacred duty of insurrection, they resigned their charter of popularity. They proceeded in the completion of the constitution, beset with general contempt, and their dissolution earnestly desired by all parties. By the royalists, because it would be the period of the king's release from confinement and political annihilation; and by the factions, because it would occasion changes favourable to their projects and plots. The revision of the constitution produced long debates, in which none but the speakers interested themselves. Talleyrand now spoke often, and always in favour of the court, for which he was liberally paid; but neither he nor his party, when free from personal dangers, had sufficient virtue or magnanimity to procure the king the portion of authority necessary for preserving the monarchy; nor would the assembly take any effectual measures for prosecuting those incendiaries, who were repeatedly denounced for acts of violence, and exhortations to insurrection in the departments.

The mode in which the constitution was to be presented for the king's acceptance, occasioned the most strenuous debates, and produced some smart contests between avowed royalty and republicanism slightly concealed. When the assembly, with great confusion, had completed its readings and revisions, the new code was presented to the king for his pure and simple acceptance or rejection. A deputation of sixty members, one of whom was Talleyrand, waited on him for this purpose. All comment and explanation being forbidden, he first on the 13th of September accepted the constitution in writing, and then two days afterwards, bound himself to maintain it by an oath. He was now allowed to enjoy a little more liberty than before; that is to say, he was permitted to walk in the garden of his palace for a couple of hours every morning, accompanied and watched by the officers of the national guard on duty. This was perhaps found necessary, to obviate the charge of his not being free when he accepted it. As more jacobins were in prison on account of the riots in *Champ de Mars* than royalists, in consequence of the journey to Varennes, La Fayette, out of tenderness to the former, obtained a decree, that all persons arrested should be set at liberty; all legal proceedings relative to the events of the revolution superseded; and the use of passports and temporary restraints discontinued. Yet when the king attended in the hall to take the oath, his coming was preceded by a debate, in consequence of which the order of the Holy Ghost was abolished. The members, instead of paying the accustomed respect of standing while he spoke, sat down, and his chair was reduced by a rule to the size of the president's, who sat on a level with him, and on his right hand. Several other studied insults, congenial with the unfeeling character of these successful rebels, were besides heaped on this unfortunate sovereign.

The new constitution was the folly of a system neither monarchical nor republican, in which, for want of a blending medium, a permanent aristocracy, the two extremes could never meet. No authority was sufficiently established in force, nor were means left for its maintenance by popular respect. The people, in the widest sense of the word, were left to govern themselves; and all who obtained, even by their momentary favour, the exercise of temporary authority, were exposed without protection to the brutalities, which caprice, suspicion, or fury, might excite against them. The able and loyal French writer, Mr. Montjoye, gives the following accurate, just, and spirited description of this deformed first-born of the modern philosophers La Fayette, Talleyrand, and Co.—" Never did the union of folly and madness beget a more monstrous offspring. This pretended constitution presented to the eye a mis-shapen machine, whimsically composed of an infinity of wheels, without any mutual relation or dependence. Experience has shewn, that it was not in the power of man to put its grotesque springs in motion. The government framed by these presumptuous legislators, was neither monarchical, aristocratical, nor popular. Their constitutional act might at best be considered as the basis of an anarchical monarchy; that is, a real chimera, for death and life cannot subsist in the same body. Had this monster been able to live, those who begot it took great precautions that it might be strangled in the cradle. They had taken from the kingdom its religion; they had annihilated the public force, disorganised the military, and armed those who ought to contribute to the exigencies of the state. And that nothing might be wanting to the deformity of their work, they carefully destroyed every barrier which could prevent the attacks of usurpation or despotism *." It ought not to be passed over in silence, that after this *chef d'œuvre* had been proclaimed at Paris on the 18th of September, the ensuing Sunday a grand Te Deum, *or thanksgiving for the end of the revolution*, was performed in the church of Notre Dame, where another grand Te Deum, *or thanksgiving for the end of the revolution*, was again celebrated with great solemnity on the 2d of December 1804. Talleyrand was present on both these occasions, doubtless with equal devotion, satisfaction, and sincerity, though, during the terrible interval, from a faithless subject of the patriotic Louis XVI. he had been transformed into a faithful slave of a barbarous assassin and Corsican tyrant.

---

* See Eloge Historique et Funebre de Louis XVI. par Montjoye, p. 160.

Immediately after his acceptance of the constitution, Louis XVI. according to the advice of Talleyrand, in a circular letter, informed all other sovereigns and states of this event. Those French diplomatic agents in foreign courts, who had loyalty enough to refuse the oath to the constitution, were recalled, and others appointed in their place. Several foreign courts declined admitting these revolutionary emissaries, and in consequence discontinued all regular and usual communication with the French monarch, surrounded as he was with traitors, jailors, and assasins. Indeed, it could hardly be expected, that the other branches of the house of Bourbon would, without indignation, behold the chief of their line detained in unmerited captivity by his own subjects, and the princes of the blood seeking shelter, and soliciting precarious protection in foreign courts; or that the emperor could, without impatience, hear of the intolerable indignities offered by the lowest of mankind to his own sister. Talleyrand had therefore no easy task to conciliate so many injured parties, and such various and opposite interests. It was become notorious in France, that he as well as Barnave and the La Meths were secret members of the king's council. As such they were denounced by the deputies of the new legislature, calumniated by the jacobins, and libelled by their journalists. With the activity and plans of their internal enemies they were too well acquainted not to fear more from their violence, than from the complaints, representations, and even armaments of foreigners, with whom the republican faction neglected no opportunity to embroil France, either by indirect acts of alarms and provocation, or by a direct declaration of an intent to produce an universal republic by a general insurrection.

To establish a commonwealth in France, and to overthrow all thrones abroad, Brissot and all other French republicans, declared it absolutely necessary "to carry fire and sword into the four corners of the world," as they expressed it, or, in other words, to involve all states in warfare with each other, or against France. Talleyrand was not long without observing, that this opinion had adherents even in the king's closet, and among those who had hitherto been firm supporters of monarchical governments. He remarked, that among the republicans there reigned not only audacity and personal union, but unity of views; "a total subversion:" whilst the monarchists were divided among themselves, suspecting each other, acting without plan as well as without energy, possessing no point, round which to rally in case of attack, and no place of refuge in case of defeat. Having already deserted his God and his king to join the Orleans faction, which in its turn he left from cupidity, he did not long hesitate in again betraying his king by going over to the republicans. In a letter to the Countess of F—hault, of the 29th October, he opens his mind on this subject without reserve.—"From what I see every day," says he, "I am convinced of the justness and truth of Mirabeau's last words. Monarchy is certainly descending with rapidity into the grave; I must therefore be careful not to be buried with it. I have within these few days had several overtures from the republicans, but as I suspected that it was merely to sound the ground, no notice has been taken of them. I shall

I shall, however, not neglect to render them some services *apropos*, which may in time encourage them to speak out. The next time you see Chauvelin, endeavour to find out if my suspicions are well founded. I really think, that he is not in his place at court, but that the republicans have placed him there, merely to watch the king, and those about his person. But to be well acquainted with his sentiments, you must begin with forgetting your own. Yes! you must seem a convert to republicanism. Read and quote *Le Patriote Français*, (by Brissot,) *La Chronique de Paris*, (by Condorcet,) and even *L'Ami du Peuple* (by Marat). As he will declare his surprise at seeing you in such a company, you may say that it is by my desire, being disgusted with the lukewarm patriotism of the monarchists. Take his word of honour not to divulge your conversation to any body. If he keeps his promise he will do you no harm; if he breaks it, he will serve me, without hurting you. I am much mistaken in my man, if the latter will not be the case. Your prudence will suggest the propriety of concealing the above journals whenever La Fayette, Barnave, or the

La Meths, pay you any visits. With them, of course, you must continue as staunch a constitutionalist as ever *."

By the adroitness of his mistress, Talleyrand soon came to a good understanding with Chauvelin. The latter had from his youth been received at court. To the bounty of the king both he and his father were indebted for every thing they possessed. Perceiving him to be of a weak and unprincipled character, the jacobins and republicans easily and early engaged him to be a spy about the royal family. In this *honourable* post he was the more useful to them, because he was esteemed by his prince as an inoffensive and safe companion, neither tormented by ambition nor led astray by cupidity. Under date the 24th of November Talleyrand wrote to the same lady:—" After spending all the morning of yesterday at court, Chauvelin and I supped last night at the mayor's, (Petion's,) with Robespierre, Brissot, Guaudet and Roland. They have communicated their plans to me, which are well combined, formidable, and *patriotic.*

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 29.

In return I have promised, and shall be of service to them, because I am firmly convinced that things cannot continue as they are. We must either recal the implacable emigrants, or proclaim a republic. In the former case I have nothing but humiliation to expect from their injured pride, or persecution from their unrelenting vengeance. Connected as I now am, I have on the contrary every thing to hope, and nothing to fear from the republicans, to whom I am besides necessary in more respects than one.

" Petion speaks with great satisfaction and even affection of his reception in London, and of the enthusiasm of the English for our revolution. Their determination of breaking their fetters in imitation of us, is decidedly fixed. He is convinced, that England alone contains more real republicans than all other states of Europe together, not only among the people but among the nobility, the clergy and the capitalists, who have unanimously applauded his zeal, and encouraged him to continue his effort in the cause of equality and liberty. They not only devour with avidity all our patriotic tracts and writings, but cause them to be translated and gratuitously distributed among the lower classes, particularly in their populous cities, and in their manufacturing towns. Clubs are as regularly organised in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as in France; and the *friends of the constitution* there, correspond as regularly as we do here. They talk as loudly of *reform* as we do, and use the same means, and the same activity to procure it. *Their object is the same as ours*, and their success *must* be the same. There, as well as here, some few aristocrats murmur and tremble, and some bigots sigh and pray; but there as well as here, the rights of man and the religion of nature, will soon triumph and crush the monster both of religious and political superstition. He does not hesitate to affirm, that an able minister from France, in whom the English patriots could confide, would direct their ardour, and make the cause of the friends of liberty of both countries a common and inseparable one. He predicts, that they then will soon send their G—ge to fraternise with our Louis; that the tricoloured flag will predominate at the palace of St. James as effectually as at that of the Thuilleries, and that republicans will fraternize equally in both.

"Brissot brought forward a proposal concerning me, which, if acceded to, will oblige me to go over to England. Many things are, however, to be previously considered and arranged; and as I intend to pass all the evening of the day after to-morrow with you, I shall then be more explicit on this subject, and listen with pleasure to your opinion and counsel *."

Notwithstanding the reciprocal hatred, the great differences of opinions, the mutual jealousies, and the opposite pursuits of the several rebellious factions in France, they all agreed in considering it absolutely necessary for the success of their plan of an universal revolution, previously to involve Great Britain and Ireland in the same anarchy and subversion of order, which, during three years, had made France so wretched. Supposing the national character of British subjects as fickle and vicious, and the individual characters of British revolutionists as audacious and depraved as their own, they did not expect to meet with

---

* La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés &c. tom. iv. p. 36. & seq.

any disappointment in their designs. They had entirely forgot the difference between the talents, virtue, and patriotism of British ministers, contrasted with those treacherous, ignorant or weak counsellors, who had prepared or permitted the ruin of France. The speeches of some members of the English opposition; the declamations of reformers at clubs, and the libels of Paine, and of other seditious and unworthy Britons, encouraged them in this notion. The factious of this country were therefore applauded and flattered by all parties in France; by the Orleanists, by the constitutionalists, by the Brissotins, by the jacobins, and by the Cordeliers, each expecting to find in this country a revolutionary ally in their cause, revolutionary defenders of their principles, and above all, revolutionary imitators of their revolutionary enormities. They hoped to see here, as in France, palaces reduced to ashes; the clergy degraded and beggared, and men of property plundered, proscribed, and murdered. Here as well as there, they were certain of seeing every bludgeon transformed into a sceptre, and every sans culotte, at the same time, an accuser, judge and executioner. To hear of *philosophers* proclaiming the rights of man on the reeking ruins of temples, and of *patriots* preaching fraternity under the blood-stained lamp-posts of the sovereign people. In this hope, and in these expectations they were not a little emboldened by Petion's report of his reception in this country. Two classes of men here formed his exclusive society. One consisted of ambitious, unruly, and scheming partisans, who envied the rank and power of the great and eminent; the other of numerous needy adventurers, destitute of character and fortune, who, from their shops, garrets, and night cellars, issued malice, calumny and plots, and who flattered themselves with the hope of reaping a golden harvest from the property of the wealthy, and the profits which industry had bestowed on the labours of the diligent, quiet, honest and loyal. The professions and conversations of these unprincipled villains, Petion concluded were the predominant sentiments of the British nation, and his erroneous conclusions were believed by the whole hordes of French rebels as the criterion of the public spirit of Britons. Hence the many impolitic and audacious insults, both of the legislative assembly and of the national convention, who, in expressing a desire of continuing in peace with Great Britain, applauded and permitted repeated acts of aggression against her sovereign and her constitution. Hence when an obscure party of Englishmen, who met at a public-house in Frith-street, Soho, and calling themselves a constitutional society of whigs, presented a foolish address to Louis XVI, and the national assembly, promising to risk their *lives* and *fortunes* in defence of France against any despotic powers which might attempt to enchain the nation, the legislature, received this proposal "to wage war without the consent of our government," with loud applauses, and honourable mention in the *procès verbal*, and communicated it to the king by a deputation. A written answer was returned by the president, declaring the treaty inviolate by *virtue*, simple as *truth*, essential as *reason*, and complimenting these obscure addressers as the *soundest part of the nation* *. Hence the national convention afterwards declared, that the French nation would grant fraternity and aid to every person *willing* to recover their liberty, and ordered their military commanders to give assistance to all such people, and defend those who might have been oppressed in the cause of liberty. This general proclamation in favour of rebellion, passed by acclamation, and ordered to be translated into all languages, was particularly addressed to the factious and disaffected in this country.

---

* See the Address in Debrett's State Papers; in Rivington's Annual Register 1791, and Bertrand's Annals, vol. ix. p. 49.

During the remaining part of the autumn 1791, Talleyrand continued secretly to influence the king's determinations, and to betray the confidence of his prince to the Orleans and republican factions. From his correspondence it is evident that he entered into the views and subscribed to the opinions of their chiefs, Orleans and Brissot, that foreign war alone could prevent a civil one, and that hostilities would preserve and extend, and a long peace destroy the revolution, and its promoters, together with their plans and prospects. Under the disguise of candour and concord, he, in consequence, did every thing at court to mislead and to embroil the nation, and to reduce Louis XVI. to the necessity of provoking or declaring a war contrary to his wishes, inclination and interest *. The negociations with the Emperor of Germany, and with several princes of

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 36.

the empire, were carried on, during the winter, in such a manner that, in the ensuing spring, revolutionary armies could take the field against neighbours, unsuspicious, and trusting to treaties, and, therefore, but ill prepared for defence, and totally incapable of attack. Confiding in, because acquainted with the sincerity and desire of Louis XVI to avoid a rupture, and to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, other states considered his pacific professions and assurances as their security against all surprise. From the character of the persons who had intruded themselves upon the king, and into his councils, they ought, however, to have known, that this ill-fated prince would either be obliged to sign their deceitful dispatches, or fall a victim to an unavailing refusal or resistance. In either case his personal and royal virtues could not be supposed sufficient guarantees for these public and political transactions, into which he was forced by threats, seduced by sophistry, or engaged by treachery. It should also be remembered, that France herself, if ruled by men of prudence and humanity, would have remained quiet; her finances suffering from the same confusion and anarchy that had destroyed discipline and subordination among her legions. Talleyrand wrote to his *Bonne Amie*, under the 10th of January 1792: "Narbonne, the war minister, called on me yesterday, and was the cause of my not seeing you, as he remained with me till past eleven o'clock last night. He gave me a deplorable account of the discipline of our troops, and of the situation of our fortresses, arsenals, and magazines, very different from that laid before the king and the assembly, on his return from the visit to our frontiers. He is totally against a war to be carried on in the usual manner, but flatters himself with great success from a sudden excursion into the defenceless Austrian and German territories, by a numerous body of our national guards as well as troops of the line. He supposes that our revolutionary propagators and our manifestoes in favour of liberty have procured us adherents every where; that revolutions will march with our armies, and encompass us with allies wherever we advance.

"The poor Louis has no idea of our warlike dispositions. Even this morning he told me, that he still hoped *that Providence would enable him* to prevent the addition of war to the other scourges of our days, and this was the object of his fervent prayers. He mentioned, as a certainty, that the emperor of Germany did not intend to trouble the tranquillity of Europe. This sovereign has, at last, upon Noaille's, (the French ambassador at Vienna), repeated demands, sent counter-orders to the regiments from Bohemia and Tyrol, intended to reinforce his troops in Brabant, Hainault and Flanders. I was asked to write something, in the shape of an address, to the people, to quiet their apprehensions from the emigrants, and from the German princes. This I promised to have inserted in the *Journal de Paris*. It would be curious enough if my address met with the same favourable reception from their adversaries, as my speculations on the probable advantages of an immediate war, which I read to you last week, before inserting them in the *Chronique de Paris*, obtained from our patriots. I shall do as well as I can in this business; but to escape mistrust and defy treason, I shall inform the mayor, Petion, of the whole, and tell him that to avoid suspicion at court, I could not help accepting this disagreeable task. In some few days I hope to have Chauvelin appointed to the embassy under my guidance and inspection. As he will certainly visit you to-day, inform him of it, and of the contents of this letter, except what regards Narbonne's *indiscreet* communication *."

On the 14th of the same month, he wrote a letter, on a very different subject, to the same lady, which shews, that, notwithstanding the occupations which his triple perfidy against the king, the Duke of Orleans, and the republicans, furnished him, he found leisure enough to engage in intrigues with women, to ruin wives, and to outrage husbands. "It is true," says he, "that you have been well served by your spies. Three weeks ago, at Madame Stael's, I met *La Belle Sotte*, as you call her. She was pleased with my conversation, and I admired her as I would do Venus of Medicis, or any other inanimate *chef d'œuvre*. If she mistook my surprise at seeing so much imbecillity, covered with so highly finished an *etui*, for an expression of another kind, so much the worse for her. She invited me to breakfast with her, and I have certainly done so, as you say, four times, and that *tête à tête*. So far your information is correct, but when you surmise, that she has passed the two nights with me, that I pretended to be busy in the Palais Royal, (the residence of the Duke of Orleans,) or at the mayor's (Petion's), either your own lively imagination has imposed on you, or your spy has robbed you of his wages. She has never been in my apartments after dark, and I am never with her but in the forenoon. As to her sister, *I knew her* before I had the happiness of your acquaintance. Without your claims of friendship and affection she has more pretensions than you, and plagues me with her jealousy and suspicions in a most unaccountable and troublesome manner. She has given up to her husband my former correspondence with her, and interrupted my last *tête à tête* with her sister, by the unseasonable introduction of her brother-in-law. This foolish cuckold does honour to the brotherhood, and to his province. A true gasconader, he spoke of nothing but swords and pistols—of separation or divorce. As his dear moitié viewed every thing in a serious or rather tragical light, threatening to poison herself, her husband,

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 44 et 45.

and even me, if she was not permitted to continue our connection, I without hesitation made my retreat, promising her husband to visit her no more. She has written to me since, but according to agreement, I sent her letter unopened to her husband, who has obliged her to accompany him to his estate on the banks of the Garonne. The report of her having robbed her husband to pay the 120,000 livres (5000l.) I lost in gambling at the baroness's, is the invention of some envious or malicious rival or enemy. I paid this debt the next day with assignats, of which you (from whom I conceal nothing of my political or financial affairs) shall easily be convinced. Such is the historical and faithful account of the beginning, progress, and fall of my empire in the *Chaussé d'Autin.* As to the fury of her sister, I have forbid her my house, and offered her my groom to console her.

" You see, therefore, that this *scandalous* intrigue has neither disgraced me as a lover, nor dishonoured me as a gentleman. As a *minister of peace,* I am not permitted to carry arms, and none but cowards attack persons disarmed, by accident or by their station. After this *frank* explanation, I hope that your door is no longer shut, and that you are at home when I call. Remember our Charles, and accept of him as a mediator for past, a pacificator for present, and a guarantee against future infidelity. In the burning of my letters, you have only done what I have repeatedly desired you. I never doubted but that you would remain an affectionate and sincere friend, though you might cease to be the tender and complaisant mistress. But it shall never more be my fault, if those two names do not continue inseparable for life. To-morrow night I *shall* and *will* sup and sleep with you—embrace our dear boy *."

The place of a French ambassador in England had been vacant since the death of the Marquis de la Lucerne in the summer 1791, but the late secretary of the embassy, M. de Barthelemy, acted as a chargé d'affaires. Although he had sworn fidelity to the late constitution, his known moderation was, however, much against his continuance in that capacity in this country, where the Jacobins wanted diplomatic agents rather to plot and conspire, than to negociate or pacify. He received therefore as a kind of assistant, or rather a spy on his actions, an apostate Abbé, Noel, who had for some time been a jacobin emissary in Holland; an unprincipled atheist, and an audacious rebel, at once crafty and active in his intrigues. Here he soon became intimate with all the factions, directed their manœuvres, and by promises and bribes kept up their spirit of sedition. But as his connections were only among the lower classes of revolutionists, a gentleman was requisite, who, from his birth, as well as from his public character, could claim admittance into superior society, to hear the opinions, and note the actions of persons of property, eminence, and rank. Talleyrand was by most parties in France considered as a fit subject for the office of a privileged conspirator in Great Britain. His talents were known, his principles avowed, and both were approved among his associates. He had just added a fresh sprig to his literary and political laurels, by his fabrication of a pretended answer of the grand vizier to our ambassador at Constantinople, concerning the offer made by this country to adjust, as a mediator, the differences between Turkey and Russia. This paper, in its time, made a great noise, and created no favourable opinion of our administration; of which the factious took advantage to publish the most infamous insinuations against our national honour and dignity. They proclaimed it as authentic, though justly and officially disowned by our ministers. This singular note verbal was as follows*:—"The grand signor wars for himself, and for himself makes peace. He can trust his own slaves, servants, and subjects; he knows their faith, has experienced their virtue, and can rely upon their fidelity, a virtue long since banished your corner of Europe. If all other Christians tell truth, no reliance is to be had on England, she buys and sells all mankind. The Ottomans have no connection with your king, nor your country. We never sought for your advice, your interference or friendship. We have no minister, no agency, no correspondence with you. For what reason do ye offer then to mediate for us with Russia? Why seek ye to serve an empire of infidels, as ye call us mussulmen? We want not your friendship, aid, or mediation. Your vizier, of whom you speak so highly, must have some project of deception in view, some oppressive scheme to amuse your nation, whom we are told are credulous, servile, and adorers only of money. Avarice, if we are well informed, is your chief characteristic. You would sell and buy your God; money is your deity; and commerce is every thing with your ministry and with your nation. Come ye then to sell us to Russia? No, let us bargain for ourselves. When fate has spun out the thread of our good fortune, we must yield. What has been decreed by God and the prophet of men, must and will come to pass. We Ottomans know no finesse. Duplicity and cunning are your Christian morals. We are not ashamed to be honest, downright, plain, and faithful in our state maxims. If we fail in war, we submit to the will of heaven, decreed from the beginning. We have long lived in splendour, the first power on earth, and we glory in having triumphed for ages over Christian infidelity and depravity, mixed with all sorts of vice and hypocrisy. We adore the God of nature, and believe in Mahomet. You neither believe in the God you pretend to worship, nor in his Son, whom you call both your God and your prophet. What reliance can there be upon so sacrilegious a race? You banish truth as you do virtue, from all your conduct and actions with each other. Read the catalogue of the complaints, manifestoes, declarations, and remonstrances of all the Christian kings, monarchs, and Emperors, who have lived and warred with each other; you find them all equally blasphemous, equally perfidious, equally cruel, equally unjust and faithless to their engagements. Did the Turk even forfeit his promise, word, or honour? Never! Did ever a Christian power keep an engagement, but while it suited his own avarice or ambition? No! How then do you think we are to trust you, a nation at this moment, if we are told truth, ruled by a perfidious administration, without one grain of virtue to guide the machine of state?

---

* La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 47 et 48.

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 40 et 41. In the note is said, that Talleyrand boasted to Barnave of having composed this fabrication in fifty minutes in the presence of Baron de Grimen, the late Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris. It is added, that Catharine II. rewarded him afterwards for his labours with a gold snuff-box set with diamonds, worth 1000 Louis d'ors.

The grand signor has no public intercourse with your court; he wants none, he wishes for none. If you wish to remain here either as a spy, or, as you term yourself, an ambassador for your court, you may live with those of other Christian nations, while you demean yourself with propriety, but we want neither your aid by sea or land, nor your councils or mediation. I have no order to thank you for your offer, because it is by the divan deemed officious; nor have I any command to thank you for the offer of your naval assistance, because it is what the porte never dreamed of admitting into our seas. What you have to do with Russia we neither know nor care; our concerns with that court we mean to finish as suits ourselves, and the maxims of our laws and state policy. If you are not the most profligate Christian nation, as you are said to be, you are undoubtedly the boldest in presumption and effrontery, in offering to bring such a power as Russia to terms, such as you and some other trivial Christians united, fancy yourselves equal to command. We know better, and therefore this effrontery of yours amounts rather to audacity, and to an imbecile dictation, which must render your councils at home mean and contemptible, and your advice abroad unworthy of wisdom, or attention from any power, much less the regard of the porte, which on all occasions, wherein its ministers had listened to you, have experienced evil, either in your designs, or in your ignorance. His sublime highness cannot therefore be too much upon his guard, against the attempts and presumption of a nation so perfidious to the interest of its subjects. But it is the usual way of Christian princes to sell or cede over their subjects to each other, for money. Every peace made amongst you, as we are informed, is made favourable to the king that bribes most. The Ottoman ministry have too long and too often given ear to European councils, and as often as they did so, they either were betrayed, sold, or deceived. Away then with your interference for the porte with Russia. It has been your aim to embroil all mankind, and afterwards to profit by your perfidy. We ask not, want not, and desire not your commerce, because our merchants have been sacrificed to your double dealings. You have no religion but gain. Avarice is your only God; and the Christian faith you profess, is but a mask for your hypocrisy. We will hear no more from you, therefore you are commanded to make no reply *."

Notwithstanding the approbation this performance procured him among his associates, the constitution presented an insurmountable obstacle against his employment in a public character. It has already been seen by his letters, that at the proposal of Brissot, he had for some months been intriguing to procure Chauvelin the appointment of an ambassador to the cabinet of St. James's, and to accompany him as an adviser, or what was the same, to be the real diplomatic agent, while Chauvelin was only a nominal one. But by some means or other Louis XVI. had discovered, that the latter had repaid his benefactions with the basest ingratitude, and was in fact the dishonourable spy of the republicans at his court. This caused some delay

before

---

* This curious paper was even read by a member of the opposition in the house of commons on the 29th of February 1792, in support of his assertion, that so far from having gratified our Ottoman friends with our offers of mediation, they regarded us with contempt and abhorrence! Since the fabricator is now known, this assertion is at least left unsupported.

before the king would nominate him a representative to the king of Great Britain. Talleyrand writes on this head to his friend under the 2d of March:—" The patriots are betrayed as well as the aristocrats. I had to-day a long private conversation with the king, during which I pressed him closely to fulfil his promise in choosing Chauvelin for the diplomatic post vacant in England. After a silence of ten minutes, he asked with some hesitation, do you know the man you recommend, and can you answer for his fidelity? Upon my declaration in the affirmative, he said sighing, and with tears in his eyes:—" You are as much mistaken in him as I have been. He is the most undutiful, and the most ungrateful of men. He has long since been sold to my enemies, and has taken advantage of my confidence in him to injure me, and those who are dear to me." Expressing my surprise at such an assertion, and throwing out some doubts as to the veracity of the information he had received, he interrupted me, saying, " I wish to God that I was misinformed! The perfidy of this man makes me almost detest my species, and nearly mistrust my own shade.

But unfortunately I have convincing proofs of his unworthiness." He then related several circumstances, with which I was previously well acquainted, and so are you, communicated, and even exaggerated by Chauvelin in his report to the mayor (Petion). I then changed my language, and insinuated, that if such was the case, his presence at court must be intolerable; but since it would be dangerous to disgrace or expose him publicly, policy required to have him removed, as if nothing had been discovered. This can best be done in advancing him to a distant place, where I should take care of, and even answer for his demeanour, and where, if he did no good, I could prevent him from doing mischief. This assertion and observation made great impression on Louis XVI. who took my hand with a frankness and goodness, that made me really feel for his deplorable situation, and for the cruel necessity of *sacrificing* so good a prince for the *welfare* and *liberty* of the nation, saying, "Well, if you will promise me never to lose sight of his transactions, he shall be my minister in England under your guidance and responsibility. Your salary shall at least be equal to his, and should I live till the term expires when you can accept of an appointment from me, you may depend upon succeeding him. You may acquaint Chauvelin with his nomination, but that it must be kept secret until we see the turn affairs take with the emperor, and with the German princes, whether we are to have peace or war on the continent." I was *not much at my ease during this conversation*, apprehensive lest the spy that had informed against Chauvelin, had also denounced me. I have since seen Petion, and communicated to him what I had heard. He suspects Danton, but we have agreed to let Chauvelin remain ignorant of our discovery, for fear that this coward may from real weakness, or pretended repentance, in his turn be tempted to regain his lost favour and reputation by deserting us, and discovering all he knows, and more than he knows. Should he visit you before he calls on me, you may tell him the certainty of his promotion; but be careful not to throw out any hint concerning the other part of the contents of this letter, which, when you have read, throw into the fire immediately. I expect you and your husband to dine with me to-morrow, and our Charles is to be of the party, as Dusseaux has promised to call in the afternoon, and give his opinion concerning his deafness *."

Thus the unfortunate Louis XVI., encompassed by perfidy, disclosed to one traitor the treachery of another, and made the most criminal and artful of the two his confidant and counsellor. If the simplicity of this royal martyr deserves pity, abhorrence and detestation are the only sentiments inspired by the part Talleyrand acted. In reading it, all just and impartial men will be convinced, that the infamous assassins of the National Convention, though they condemned their virtuous sovereign, were not his only and exclusive murderers. Many members of the constituent assembly, merit equally to be stigmatized as regicides, and the blood of innocence calls as much for vengeance on their heads, as on those of the other rebels who shed it on the scaffold.

About this time the king was forced to select a new cabinet from among those who had been his

greatest

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, tom. iv. p. 53 et sq.

greatest enemies, and formed what is called the jacobin administration. Talleyrand, the Lamethes, Barnave, and other secret counsellors in whom his majesty trusted, were therefore more consulted than ever; but as they were suspected by the jacobins, the night was the only time when they dared shew themselves at the Thuilleries. But notwithstanding this precaution, both their presence in the palace, and frequently the very subject of their deliberations, were mentioned in the public prints. This perfidious publicity Louis XVI. ascribed to the indiscretion of inferior persons about his court, though in fact it originated from Talleyrand, who every morning either saw Petion, or sent him regular reports of what was discussed*. Every means, therefore, employed secretly by the king to avoid a rupture with the emperor and the empire, were communicated to, and counteracted by his jacobin ministers, who breathed nothing but hostilities, and employed all their efforts in rendering an accommodation or explanation impossible; and on the 20th of March war was declared against Francis II. as King of

---

* See La Politique d'un Infame Peregord, &c. p. 60. and La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 44.

Hungary and Bohemia, who had not yet succeeded his father, Leopold II. as chief of the German Empire.

At the period when France was thus eager to rush into war, without a motive, anarchy prevailed in every direction, and no class had sufficient magnanimity to set the example, or sufficient authority to enforce a better rule and system. The enemies of the king and queen had propagated such a series of fictions respecting their principles and conduct, that no explanation, or evidence of their good intentions, could impress on the public a belief of their inclination to regulate their conduct by the constitution. They were known to be deeply injured, and it was perceived, that they were not sufficiently degraded tamely to endure offensive familiarity, and nauseous insolence. It was, therefore, inferred, that implacable revenge and treacherous projects must occupy their thoughts. These suppositions, and these calumnies, continually animated the fury of the populace. Execrations of the king and queen were not confined to select parties, or even to promiscuous meetings; but their very residence was chosen as the fittest spot for the utterance of the grossest abuse, and for insulting those who retained appearances of respect for the king and his family. These atrocities were feelingly described by the queen in conversation with Dumourier. "I am quite disconsolate," she said; "I dare no longer approach the windows that look into the garden. Yesterday evening, when I appeared at that opposite the court to breathe a little fresh air, a cannoneer of the national guard seized the opportunity to overwhelm me with gross insults, adding, by way of conclusion, *What pleasure it would give me to have your head stuck on the point of my bayonet!* In this frightful garden you see in one place a man mounted on a chair, and reading the most horrible calumnies against us in a loud tone of voice; in another you perceive an officer or an abbé dragged towards a bason of water, insulted and fainting from blows and wounds; and during all this, some play at football, or walk about without the least concern. What a habitation! what a people *!"

---

* Dumourier's Life, vol. ii. p. 207. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 343. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 470.

The members of the national aſſembly at the same time disgraced their sittings by outrageous debates, unmanly reproaches, and even manual defiances. Unused to the regulations of superior life, they knew of no restraining principle but force. But these tumultuous senators were themselves under the controul of the galleries. For as they aimed only at popular acclamation, without any expectation of respect, they were obliged to submit, without resistance, to all the caprices of the mob, who, without ceremony or restraint, overawed, controlled, or interrupted their proceedings. The clubs and the rabble, knowing themselves to be the sources of popularity and power, and dignified by abject flatterers with the absurd title of the sovereign people, knew no bounds to their insolence, and treated with open contempt every effort of restraining them. They were submissive only to the mandates of a few factious leaders, who, by the distribution of money and liquor, knew how to mould, impel, and govern them. The payment of taxes was entirely superseded; convoys of grain and specie, destined for the supply of distant parts, were stopped and plundered to satisfy the exigencies or avarice of those who had been formerly relieved by the bounty of the great. The freedom of worship was every where violated, and highwaymen and housebreakers, under the cloak of patriots, crowded the high roads, and plundered the persons and houses of the inoffensive or wealthy, many of whom they afterwards murdered, hung to the lamp post or quartered, under the pretence that they were ariſtocrats. All cash had disappeared, and the assignats, or government securities, issued on the credit of the lands of the church, already circulated at a loss of forty per cent. Business stagnated, both for want of capital, safety, and encouragement. Every reasoning man, therefore, who speculated on the state of France, was convinced, that nothing less than madness could impel a declaration of war, amid domestic weakness, discredit and disorder.

The issue of the first engagement of the revolutionary armies seemed to confirm the justness of their opinions, who did not perceive the deeply combined plans of Talleyrand, Petion, Brissot, and other demagogues. To all these, the constitution was odious, because it retained a king whom they had resolved at least to depose, if not to annihilate his authority. But they were too prudent to let their hatred of the constitution appear in their acts. That absurd farrago, obtained at the expence of much struggling and so many sacrifices, was exhibited to the people as a great acquisition, in rescuing liberty from the hands of pretended despotism. A party, neither strong nor respectable, composed of those who had been the associates of the chief framers of the constitution, were its known defenders; and the legislature found it necessary to swear to its maintenance till common sense was disgusted with their ridiculously repeated adjurations. The king, they knew, had made the constitution his study, and the rule of his practice. This patriotic prince had even learnt it by heart, and applied it to the regulation of all his actions; yet the republicans did not hesitate to raise clamours against every act of the sovereign which was directed by that code. His nomination of ministers, his conduct with respect to the declaration of war, his exercise of the power, commonly called the *veto*, all these were made constant topics of public abuse, calumny, and libels. The defences of ministers, though perfectly justified by the constitution, were not more favourably received by the assembly; but it was artfully contrived to praise, and swear to defend this ridiculous idol, while every objection to its existence was studiously accumulated, and the people impelled to actions and resolutions tending to its inevitable destruction. Though Talleyrand and most other rebels of any talents had shared bountifully from the king's purse, the civil list was also regarded with peculiar malevolence. The *great nation* had learnt maxims of meanness by rote, and exalted avarice into a virtue. Exclamations against the enormous revenue reserved to the crown, were always sure of a good reception; especially when mingled with the endeavours of those who had not yet been bribed, to prove that liberty was betrayed by individuals already bribed out of this envied civil list.

Such was the situation of France, and such were the plans of the parties that desolated the kingdom, when, on the first of May, Louis XVI. publicly appointed Chauvelin his minister in this country, and Talleyrand his assistant. He wrote on that occasion the following letter to our beloved

loved sovereign, the last his Majesty received from this amiable prince.

"Confidential Letter from the King of the French to the King of England.

"*Paris, May 1st*, 1792.

"Sir—My Brother,

"I send this letter by M. Chauvelin, whom I have appointed my minister plenipotentiary at your majesty's court. I embrace this opportunity to express to your majesty how sensible I am of all the public marks of affection you have given me. I thank you for not having become a party to the plans concerted against France by certain powers. From this, I see, that you have formed a better judgment of my true interests, and a more correct opinion of the state of France. Between our two countries, new connections ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalship, which has done so much mischief to both, wearing daily away. It becomes two kings who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to unite themselves by such ties as will appear to be durable, in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own intereſts. I have every reason to be satisfied with your majesty's ambassador at my court. If I do not give the same rank to the minister whom I have sent to yours, you will, nevertheless, perceive, that by *associating in the mission with him M. de Talleyrand*, who, by the letter of the constitution can sustain no public character, I consider the success of the alliance, in which I wish you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance. I consider it as necessary *to the stability, to the respective constitutions*, and *to the internal tranquillity* of our two kingdoms; and I will add, that our union ought to command peace to Europe.

"I am your good brother,
(Signed) Louis *."

Talleyrand, in a letter to his mistress of the 22d of May, containing the copy of the above, writes, "that it was composed by him and copied, without any change or remark by the king, who had now *an unbounded confidence in his fidelity.* I am now so busy," continues he, "with my preparations, and in meditating on my several and opposite instructions from the Thuilleries, (the king,) from the Palais Royal, (the Duke of Orleans,) and from *La Mairie*, (Petion,) that I have only time to pass some few hours with you this evening, when I shall give you two different sorts of cyphers for your use in writing to me, and those different directions for continuing with safety, and without interruption our mutual correspondence; therefore take care to be at home and alone to-night; and give your orders so that nobody interrupts our *tête-à-tête*. Send with the bearer of this the 500,000 livres, in assignats, (20,000l.), I deposited with you, and if you know any capitalists you desire to oblige, tell them that I shall shortly be able to place their money to the greatest advantage, but they must determine before the day after to-morrow as I then intend to set out for England *."

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 66. In a note it is said that its authenticity is verified by Dumourier as the then minister of the foreign department.

A French author † on this letter says, that, according to notes in the possession of the committee of public safety, the private instructions from the king were such as might be expected from this undesigning sovereign. In proposing an alliance with England, Talleyrand and Chauvelin were ordered "not to listen to any proposals, accept of any plan, or enter into any plots of the factious or seditious in Great Britain, that could there bring about those scenes of horror, produced by the revolution in France. They were to decline all communication concerning the affairs of state, except with persons in official situations. Even if overtures should be made by any members of the opposition, they should prudently, and without giving offence, signify, that without farther orders from France, they were not prepared or permitted to hear any suggestions unsanctioned by, or offensive to, the British administration. They had a credit for 400,000 livres, 16,000l. to pay the salaries due to the secret agents employed by the late French ambassador, and for other occasional and unavoida-

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 64, 65, and 66.

† See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 45. et seq. Le Diable

---

Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 24, et 25. says, that Talleyrand, in going to England, had even offered his services to the anarchists, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, but, after some conferences, was not accepted.

ble occurrences. They could engage no new agents at any higher salary than 6000 livres (250l.), without first obtaining the permission of the minister of the foreign department. The strictest economy was enjoined."

The private and secret instructions of the Duke of Orleans, written by La Clos, recommended to Talleyrand "to maintain a good understanding with the P—— of ——, and the members of the opposition, and of the whig club; to follow their advice, and to act according to their intimations and plans. He was to insinuate to them the probability of the duke being declared a regent, or even proclaimed a constitutional king of the French, in consequence of the incapacity or perfidy of Louis XVI. In that event the duke promised to assist them with all his political influence, military forces, or pecuniary resources to bring about a change in the English administration or constitution, congenial with, and favourable to their wishes, wants, and ambition. Should he find them reluctant and mistrustful, he was, with the assistance of his inferior agents, to address himself to the popular leaders of the different clubs and societies; inform them that the duke would accept of no other place in the French commonwealth, than that of an elective president, as in America; and that they might depend upon his succours to establish a republic in England, formed as in France, upon liberty and equality. The duke gave him a credit for 600,000 livres, 25,000l. to be used according to his own discretion. He was desired to distribute among the popular favourites money, for celebrating with splendour the glorious epochs of the French revolution, and other patriotic feasts. He was to pay the expences of the journies in England, or voyages to France of those men, or their agents, made as propagators, for information, or from policy."

Petion's instructions for Talleyrand were digested by Brissot and Roland. "He was, from these sans culottes provided with a credit of 3,000,000 of livres, or 125,000l. on the treasurer of the committee of insurrection, a member of the financial committee of the national assembly. This money he was to employ in a manner best suited to the views and attempts of the English patriots, either in providing depôts of arms and ammunition, or in rewarding authors for composing works, sermons, addresses, pamphlets, speeches, songs, plays, ballads, &c. in favour of liberty and equality. He was to pay all the expences of the popular leaders at their meetings, in taverns, in clubs, or in committees; and what they laid out for their travelling agents, their correspondents, &c. He was to encourage the British patriots to enter into a subscription for the expences the war of liberty caused the French patriots in their resistance against despotism; and on that account advance the principal ones a certain sum *to be subscribed in their own name*, as an example for others. The most popular men, who with patriotism possessed talents and *probity*, he was to send over to Paris before the 14th of July (1792), to deliberate in the united Gallo-Britannic convention with the French, as the representatives of the British, Scotch, and Irish republics, on the best means to crush every where the triple aristocracy of the nobility, clergy, and the capitalists, and to find out the safest and most expeditious way to plant the trees of liberty through the universe, and to erect the cap of equality upon the ruin of thrones and altars! He was ordered to reward with liberality all agents in the British navy and army, who preached the heavenly doctrine of the Rights of Man, and the sacred tenets of insurrection. He was to spare no expence in having translated and circulated, in all quarters, barracks, and *corps de gardes*, on board all men of war, and houses of rendezvous, copies of those popular addresses and songs, that in 1789 electrified the military in France. He should try to find out, and to instruct, some female patriots or enthusiasts, who, from their personal charms, amiable zeal, or natural capacity, could possibly make the greatest impression among the soldiers and sailors. He was to employ them constantly, and always to pay them liberally, either as secret propagators, literary pedlars, ballad singers, or under any other suitable, unsuspected, and useful avocation. Even those most distinguished he might establish, in purchasing for them those public houses, chiefly resorted to by the military, not only in London, but in all sea-ports, or towns where the garrisons were numerous. Besides the Argus, already in the service and pay of the French patriots, he was to purchase or set up other newspapers, in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Glasgow, Nottingham, Leeds, Norwich, and other manufacturing towns, or populous cities. These papers might, to a certain extent, and when containing any thing particularly striking, be distributed gratis among the lower classes, and in public houses frequented by them. These papers are instructed to palliate the mistaken or exaggerated zeal of some patriots, and to exculpate the bloody scenes of well-meaning, but misled patriotism. They were to contradict every thing published by aristocrats against liberty and the sovereignty of the people. They were particularly intended to disseminate those opinions which in France have produced such surprising events and such fortunate effects. At all times, and on all occasions, the example of France was to be held up to admiration and imitation. In this, as well as in every thing else, especially if any depôts of arms and ammunition, &c. are formed, Beaumarchais would be of great utility and service. As, however, during the existence of Capet (Louis XVI.), Talleyrand was to avoid giving umbrage to the English aristocrats; he was, besides Beaumarchais, Noel, Chaubert, Audibert, and Danoux, to employ and direct, in the most perilous enterprizes, other inferior English, Scotch, or Irish, agents, recommended to him by the chief patriots of these countries. Should he, nevertheless, be discovered or disgraced before the great blow was struck, he might depend upon the powerful protection of the patriots in France. Should the credit he possesses be insufficient for all expences, he was to call on those French *patriots* in England or Holland, who, with the permission of the republican executive council at Paris, had established manufactories of forged assignats in these countries, and they would remit to him good bills to any amount.*

The

---

* Some of these French *patriots*, after the disgrace of their principals at Paris, from forgers of assignats, became staunch royalists, and pretended to have been employed by the Bourbons and the English ministry. Among their accomplices, and Talleyrand's most active travelling agents, was Achilles Charles Audibert, from Calais. This man spoke good English, and was sent with all confidential communications to all the different seditious societies in Great Britain. When in August, 1792, a convention was decreed, he went to Calais and got Thomas Paine elected a member of the French convention, and in the next month, after being pelted at Dover, carried this rebel safe to Paris. There, in conformity to Talleyrand's orders, he joined some other *patriots* in

The same author remarks, "Such was Talleyrand's adroitness and cunning, that notwithstanding his activity in England, voyages to France, and intrigues with all parties of both countries, he was not suspected or accused of any double or unfair dealings, until the authority of the king had been annihilated by the republicans, the Duke of Orleans disgraced, and his faction dissolved by them, and in their turn the republicans had been proscribed by the jacobins and anarchists; or when, from the destruction or impotence of his employers, and his own absence from France, with their capitals, secrets, and plans, he had nothing either to hope or to

---

the robbery of the king's *Garde de Meubles*. With part of this plunder he went to Hamburgh in 1795, and began a merchant. In 1799, after taking in several loyal and rich houses, for the most part English, to the amount of 10,000l. he made a fraudulent bankruptcy and absconded. His name, after being burnt by the hands of the common executioner, is now affixed to the pillory on the 'Change at Hamburgh. This short narrative of one of Talleyrand's agents may justly be applied to many of them. In 1801 this very villain was again employed by him, and sent to Canada to stir up a rebellion there. In 1793 he was one of the first foreigners ordered out of this kingdom after the Alien Bill had passed. See Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, Neufchatel, 1801. p 98.

fear from the reign of terror, which he together with them had prepared *."

He had not been in England much more than a fortnight, when on the 24th of May he wrote to his mistress, complaining both of the English democrats and aristocrats, the former for their avarice and want of principle, and the latter for their haughtiness, and want of good behaviour. He found his reception here very different indeed from what he expected, from Petion's boastings and exertions. Though formerly acquainted in France with several English gentlemen of rank and property, he was, on presenting himself to them here, either received with coolness, neglect, or contempt. This demeanour he ascribed to national insolence, pride, or ingratitude, whilst it was a just and honourable indignation against a bishop, who had become an apostate, and against a nobleman who was now a rebel, and an associate with the rabble. "Either," writes he, "Petion is imposed upon, or has imposed upon me. By men of birth and eminence, the French revolution is far from being approved, or its chief actors applauded in

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 50.

England. It is not *comprehended by them*; they see nothing but its *inevitable* crimes, and forget its *certain* and *innumerable future benefits*. Was it not known to me, that the English nobility and gentry are as forgetful and insolent against foreigners visiting their country, as they are presumptuous and full of impertinent pretensions to civilities when abroad; I should suppose, that the part I have acted these last three years deserved the disrespect and *hauteur*, to say no worse, experienced by me in calling on persons, to whom I behaved very differently when in France. If Petion, in his brilliant account of his reception here meant, his reception among the English *patriots*; the society and discourses of these interested and selfish, but grave and pedantic ragamuffins may please him, being nearly as *elegant* and *amiable* as those he frequented and admired at Chartres *, but to me they are intolerably insupportable. I am very sorry to say, but so it is, that the friends of liberty here, are of the same description with most of our own. Pursued by creditors they are unable to pay, tormented by an ambition they cannot gratify, or trembling for the laws of their country which they have offended, they cover themselves, their passions, their fears, and their sins, with the cloak of *patriotism*, and speak of reducing a rank they can never approach, to dispose of a property to which they have no right, and to protect a constitution with the ruins of which they intend to elevate and enrich themselves. This language, you may think, is that of an aristocrat; but, indeed, since my arrival here every thing has concurred to vex, fret, and perplex me. Of fifty the most popular *patriots*, the oracles of newspapers, the toasts of taverns, and the heroes of clubs, who have waited on me, or whom I have met elsewhere, there was not one who did not begin his conversation with relating his disinterestedness, praising his great zeal, and extolling his great services in the cause of liberty, but who did not also finish by announcing his great distress, complaining of his great losses, and demanding great sums of money. From what I comprehend of the reports of my subaltern agents, the spirit of avarice, and corruption is very general among the inferior classes of the

---

* Before the revolution Petion was a ruined pettyfogging attorney of the town of Chartres.

English *patriots*; either because they really are beggars, and for want of another have made liberty their trade, or on account of their innate and national thirst after gain, even in the noblest undertaking, or for the most generous achievements. As to the English ministers they are reserved, stiff, and distant, either from fear of discovering their own ignorance or weakness, or from dreading my penetration, or disliking my principles. Of the opposition members I have not yet seen many, and none without witness. They behave with more cordiality than ministers, and with less meanness than the *patriots*. I am, however, told, that they are in their own opinions as consequential, vain, and ambitious as the former, and in their domestic affairs, as deranged, involved, and necessitous as the latter. The only consolation I have for these and other unpleasant occurrences, is that from my situation and information, I am enabled to speculate in the public funds with advantage, and at the expence of this covetous nation enrich myself and my friends*. Should Petion visit you, complain much of not hearing from me. My letter to him is both short and laconic. Repeat the same complaint, if any one from the Thuilleries or Palais Royal calls on you. Ask, with *nonchalance*, whether Chauvelin has written, and how he likes his place. He has finished three letters for France to-day. I am ignorant both of their contents, and to whom they are addressed. Should I not, before they are sent away, discover it, in which case I shall add a postcript, you must try, with the assistance of those trusty and useful persons to whom I recommended you at my departure, to obtain the necessary intelligence. Our plenipotentiary is certainly one of the greatest fools God ever created, or nature ever produced; but asses are often mischievous, and always more malicious than lions.

---

* Journal des Jacobins of the 13th July 1793 states, that from May to December 1792 Talleyrand gained by stock-jobbing in England two millions of livres, 82,000l.

"P. S. I have just intercepted the letters, and read them. They were addressed to Roland, La Porte, and Robespierre. Ah, traitor! he too has his secret instructions, and is audacious enough to prefer complaints against me for my want of complaisance and generosity towards the patriots, and of candour towards him. But patience, and above all, discretion *."

This interesting letter requires little or no commentary. It shews, that without any public or privileged character, Talleyrand here audaciously violated not only the laws of nations, but those of hospitality; and that in betraying to rebels the confidence of the king of France, he conspired here with traitors against the throne of the king of Great Britain. This is the man who, in an official situation, has lately dared to advise his tyrant Buonaparte, to accuse a Drake, and to seize a Rumbold, as violators of the laws of nations! This is the grand vizier of a Corsican Sultan, who has lately signed an insolent firman, pronouncing a political interdiction and revolutionary proscription against all British po-

---

* La Correspondence d' Infames Emigrés, tom. iv. p. 84 et seq. By English *patriots* Talleyrand means the seditious leaders or members of the Corresponding and other revolutionary societies. To call a man in France a patriot or philosopher, is now synonimous with calling him a robber, a murderer, and an atheist! Every brigand since the revolution has usurped in France the name of a patriot or philosopher. An age must pass away before either of the above words can resume there its pristine honour.

litical agents on the continent, under the supposition that they corresponded with some loyal and dutiful subjects in France, who are desirous to restore the Bourbons their throne, Frenchmen their honour, rights, and liberty, and the world its long-lost tranquillity, by removing its scourge, a foreign usurper.

The horrors of the situation of Louis XVI. and the royal family, increased about this period daily, and almost hourly. Their sufferings were not confined to insults from the savage licentiousness of the multitude. They were even hindered in their own apartments from receiving those who would have been agreeable to them, and compelled to endure the presence of persons employed as spies on their conduct, and who were not even endowed with sufficient address to conceal their odious mission *. Many of these insults were doubtless contrived in hopes of forcing the king again to quit the capital, and by abdicating the crown, leave the plan of a new government to the struggle of factions, and the decision of chance. The jacobins would not, in all probability, have impeded his journey, since

---

* Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 285.

Petion and Manuel frequently remonstrated with him on the dangers he incurred by remaining, and proffered means of escape *. But Louis had studied the constitution with the honest view of guiding himself entirely by its sanctions, and could not resolve by his own act, to be any thing less than king of the French. Some measures were suggested, and occasionally practised by his friends, for purchasing, dividing, or misleading his enemies; but these were only expedients, resorted to for momentary purposes, and abandoned or disclaimed after a short experiment. They were temporary barriers against a partial irruption, while the swelling tide of jacobinism, gathering and roaring on every side, threatened the inevitable destruction of monarchy and the constitution.

Either to assist in the new revolution, which Petion and his accomplices were preparing in France, or to deliberate on the means of effecting a revolution in this country, several of the factious English, with whom, during his stay in London, he had been connected the year before, were with their friends, invited by him to

---

* Conjuration d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 173.

Paris in the beginning of June 1792, and Talleyrand had orders to advance money for the expences of those who demanded it. He wrote on this subject to his female friend, under the 6th of June. "Petion has given me a commission, which is not so easy to execute as he imagines. I am to pay some of the patriots here their expences to Paris, where they are *convoked* to discuss some affairs of great moment to both countries. Any person may for five Louis d'ors (5l.) travel in the Diligence, from the English to the French capital; but though I have offered them twenty guineas each, they are not contented. None will take less than one hundred guineas, and some even have the modesty to require two hundred. Most of these *patriots* are, however, miserable adventurers or vagabonds, accustomed chiefly to ramble on foot, or to ride in waggons, and who never before in their lives possessed ten guineas they could call their own. By attending to my duty of economising with the *purse of the nation*, I am well aware that I have gained their hatred, and perhaps the suspicion of the French patriots of not being hearty in their cause. My countrymen are but little acquainted with the egotism and avarice of their fellow-labourers of Great Britain. Rapacious, as many of our *friends of liberty* have unfortunately been, they may nevertheless be considered as perfectly disinterested, compared with those of this country, where it may truly be said, *Point d'argent, point de patriotisme.* When, after long and disgusting debates I had been able to satisfy their demands as to travelling expences; they insisted on being paid before they set out, all sums pretended to be due to them for services already performed. Although I began to be accustomed to their exorbitant charges, these *patriotic* bills, really went beyond my highest expectations. One asks fifty guineas for having composed a patriotic hand-bill of sixty lines; a second, one hundred guineas for having invented ten patriotic toasts; a third, one hundred and fifty guineas, for having written twelve patriotic songs; a fourth, two hundred guineas for three months expences at the theatres to applaud patriotic sentences and airs, and to hiss aristocratic expressions and God save the King; and a fifth, three hundred guineas for nine patriotic speeches, which I am almost certain was at the rate half-a-crown for each word, with hundreds of other charges equally impertinent and extravagant. Informed, upon my refusal to satisfy these enormous demands, that these friends of liberty would make free with their travelling expences without leaving London, I was finally obliged to submit to their patriotic impositions. I must at the same time do them the justice to say, that they have not entered into any combination to plunder me, or if they have, they are as faithless to each other as they are troublesome to me, because there is hardly any of them who has not warned me against the roguish character of his comrades, in such a manner that I know most of the particulars of their lives, the secret history of which would form no unfit addition to the annals of our *Bicêtre* *, or of their Newgate.

" You will perhaps again say, that I have caught the malady of this country, and ask me why I employ such infamous men in the honourable cause of freedom? But without spleen I assert, that their moral depravity and turpitude will no more hurt the cause of liberty in England, than the vices and crimes of many Frenchmen have injured it in France. Such desperadoes are absolutely necessary, as the forlorn hopes in convulsions of states. It was neither Mirabeau, D'Orleans, La Fayette, nor myself, who, on the 14th of July 1789, took the Bastile, and cut off the head of the governor; nor was it any of us or of our friends, who, on the 6th of October murdered the king's Gardes de Corps, carried their heads on pikes, eat their hearts, and forced the royal family, after witnessing these scenes, to Paris; but without these catastrophes and acts of terror, a revolution would never have taken place, and I, as well as many other *pure* patriots, would be now living in jails, or already have expired under the gallows. As to my calling these men the chiefs or leaders of the English patriots, they are, as presidents, members, or secretaries of their secret revolutionary committees, or as speakers, subscribers, or toastmasters, at their fraternal assemblies or public feasts, *the visible ones*, being mostly persons in ruined circumstances, having nothing but lives hardly worth preserving, or already forfeited, to lose, they present themselves in the advanced guards to receive the fury of the first fire of the aristocrats; but when they have once victoriously achieved their undertakings, and the colours of liberty are erected on the ruins of the Tower of London, as well as on those of the Bastille at Paris, many *respectable* patriots, now in the rear, or behind the curtain, will step forward and declare themselves the protectors and restorers of their country's freedom, and of the rights of their countrymen. Every thing is indeed ripe for a revolution here, but as the well organized slavery of the English people has very much the resemblance of genuine liberty, it requires many more different manœuvres here to bring about what the patriots have agreed to call a *reform*, than were used to produce a revolution and overthrow in France. To a people of our quick and lively, amiable and *great* character, the impulse of a moment is sufficient to effect *great* changes. But the English, like the Batavians, must patiently be wound up like clock-work; but when once set a-going, they will not stop before they strike vigorously, and even then the devil himself cannot often arrest them from proceeding to the most sanguinary extremes, which made Voltaire acutely write, that executioners would have been the best English historians.

---

* *Bicêtre*, near Paris, is a prison for all persons judged incorrigibly wicked, and mad-house for persons supposed incurably mad.

"I have, at last, ventured to give Petion my opinion of the English patriots, what may be expected from their activity here, and in what respects their presence can be useful in France; you may, therefore, inform him, when he sees you, that you had some lines from me, but that *I am already infected with the English spleen*, or that something vexes me. Ask him if he knows what it is, and beg him to acquaint you with it, that you may scold me, or send me some consolation. Should he mention the arrival of the English patriots, invite yourself to dine with them at his house, and I am much mistaken whether, with all their vanity, pedantry, and affectation, you will not find them mere caricatures of those patriots which your imagination pictures to you, as destined by nature, education and talents to regenerate mankind. Remember, however, what I have stated before, that these patriots are merely clumsy copies, held out as butts to prevent the valuable originals from being prematurely and unnecessarily sacrificed. When any of the king's, (Louis XVI.), or of the duke's (Orleans) friends call on you, continue to complain of not hearing from me. Inquire, with *unaffected* uneasiness, whether any thing disagreeable has happened to me, or whether I or Chauvelin have written to them, and how they are satisfied with *us*. I say this because Chauvelin is now entirely subjected to my *exclusive* dictates, having discovered a part, and obliged him to give up the remainder, of his secret instructions from the court, as well as from the Jacobins. I have in my hands the greatest possible, if not the only security for the faith of a villain, HIS RUIN. You may, therefore, communicate to me, without danger, all rumours or reports concerning us both, with your ideas of removing unfavourable stories, and circulating those which are advantageous to our plans, interest, and mission. From want of time and opportunity I have not yet been able to form any just opinion of the English ministers. That they possess abilities and honesty I begin to believe, because their enemies would otherwise expose both their ignorance and their corruption; besides they are too well paid by their country to be rogues. I think that I have penetrated into the secrets of many members of the opposition, and find that they only want places and pensions to be as honest and dutiful subjects as the ministers. But in all countries disappointed ambition, merciless bailiffs, empty purses, or aching stomachs are terrible incitements to declaim against courts, to speak of reform, or to plot revolutions [*]."

A French work [†], often quoted, thus describes the arrival of the English and German patriots at Paris, their acts of patriotism during their stay, and the patriotic relicts they carried away with them at their departure. "Since the constituent assembly had, just before the first federation in 1790, put in requisition the literary adventurers and social outlaws of every country on the globe, to present themselves at its bar and congratulate it, in so many different languages, on its glorious labours, to restore to nations their long-lost liberty, a laudable emulation took place between the constitutional authorities and the anti-constitutional clubs which should be foremost in inviting foreign patriots to their fraternal banquets. English high-waymen, Spanish pick-pockets, Italian galley-slaves, and German house-breakers, after sharing the embraces of our *wealthy* patriots, soon made free with their plate and pockets, and after crowding our patriotic societies, finished by crowding our jails, our hulks, and our scaffolds. These palpable errors, instead of correcting the mania of our revolutionary propagators, served only to increase it, particularly with regard to England and Germany. In June 1792 Talleyrand imported from the former country an Anarcharsis Cloots; from the latter, numerous patriotic contraband commodities. The diligences from Calais and from Strasburgh were for several weeks so completely filled with these votaries of liberty and equality that they literally groaned under the weight of their patriotic burthens. Some of them broke down in consequence, and many *valuable* limbs of these *precious* members of society were injured; and they became pensioners of the great nation before they had fought for her *dear-bought* liberty. According to the registers of the municipality at Calais, the patriotic cargo of one single packet-boat consisted of ten bankrupt merchants, two pillored booksellers, and six pillored printers; fifteen ex-attornies struck off the rolls, twelve friends of liberty escaped from the hulks, nine active citizens from Botany Bay, twenty-three released inhabitants of Newgate and Bridewell, and thirteen coiners from Rag-fair, amounting, in the whole, to ninety-two citizens, *brothers*, and *friends* of our legislators and clubbists. The importations from Germany were still more numerous and more select. Not a jail from Vienna to Copenhagen, and not an university from Presburgh in Hungary to Kehl in Holstein, that did not furnish some of their philosophers as representatives to the great nation, either in citizens oppressed or ill used by the *tyrant* laws of their respective countries, or in half learned pedants, or pedantic sophists, who had clearly proved the uselessness, and even dangers, of all laws human or divine."

---

[*] See La Correspondence des Infames Emigrés, &c. p. 94, 95, and 96.

[†] See La Faction d'Orleans demasqué, &c. p. 55. et seq.

Some of these friends of liberty, after their arrival at Paris, were billeted on wealthy aristocrats, others on aspiring sans culottes, some in the rich suburbs of St. Honoré and St. Germain, others in the poor and patriotic suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceaux, some with the gay ladies of the palais royal, others with the grave magistrates of *La Marais*; several chosen revolutionists, especially recommended by Talleyrand, were lodged with our grave mayor, the *honest* Petion himself, at the head-quarters of insurrection, conspiracy, and rebellion. All their names, in a few days, decorated the bloody pages of the list of jacobins and cordeliers. At both these clubs they were received, applauded, and admired, though they could not pretend to the gift of tongues, hardly any of them understanding, or speaking any other, than his native language. As a specimen of the degraded situation of France at that terrible period, and of the success of imposture, impudence, and fanaticism, the following faithful, and not exaggerated, anecdote evinces: "On the 17th of June several foreign patriots, of different nations, dined with Danton; at six o'clock in the evening they adjourned to the club of the cordeliers, their spirits exhilarated with the fumes of champagne from the cellars of the Duke of Orleans. One of them, an Irishman, who had a great opinion of his eloquence, and of his perfection in the French language, ascended the tribune with intent to move the immediate deposition of the king, which was then the order of the day in the national assembly as well as at the clubs. The day was very hot, and the club unusually crowded, and as he was decorated with a woollen cap, he perspired profusely. Being not only aukward in his manners, but disfigured in his person, he rather excited pity and disgust, than laughter or curiosity. He began, however, boldly in French, "*Freres et amis!*" (brothers and friends), but these were the only words that could possibly be understood by the audience; the remainder of his speech, being neither French nor English, but a jargon unintelligible, most probably, even to himself. Notwithstanding this dilemma he occupied the tribune for near an hour, but as he took care to heighten his voice in exclaiming liberty! liberty! every four or five minutes, or as often as he saw the galleries were inclined to murmur, he went on uninterrupted with any thing but huzzas! and bravoes! When descending the tribune, the president, the butcher Le Gendre, gave him the fraternal hug, and honourable mention was made of his speech in the *procés verbal.* But to crown the whole, a matron, in the gallery, an active female citizen, who kept a brothel in the *Rué du Theatre Francois*, publicly invited the strange citizen, and his countrymen, to the honour of passing the night with herself and her sister, pensioners of the sovereign people. Her patriotic offer was accepted with loud acclamations; and, upon the motion of Hebert, the club of the Cordeliers, with unanimity, decreed, that the female citizen, Bertrand, had deserved well of her country for her hospitality. If these foreign patriots did not find reason to repent of having accepted her patriotic donations, so much the more fortunate for them *."

For several days afterwards, and until the firmness of Louis XVI. on the 20th of June, had disappointed their united machinations, these foreigners wandered about the streets of Paris with their red caps instead of hats, to the amusement of the sans culottes, and to the scandal of the good and loyal. The principal object of their extraordinary convocation was to agree on a plan of an universal republic; and these vagabonds had the audacity to deliberate on, and to settle the future governments of their respective countries, as if deputed with the general approbation and unlimitted powerof all the people upon earth. Previous to their departure, they made some inestimable collections of revolutionary relics, which, no doubt, still decorate the dens, night-cellars, or garrets of patriotic amateurs, or sainted patriots. Some loaded their knapsacks with chains, keys, stones or bricks, of the Bastille; others carried away with them branches of the first tree of liberty, the hairs of the poisoned Mirabeau, and of the murdered *garde de corps* of the king. The staunchest of them bought, at a great price, and brought home with them, a part of the pickled heart of Flessiere, the provost of the merchants, and the dried ears of de Launey, the governor of the Bastille. All, even those who had no change of linen, were provided with changes of red caps, and national cockades, and had been presented with the newest editions of the Rights of Man, and with the new catechism of the jacobin propaganda. As the healths of these friends of liberty had suffered from the active hospitality of the female Parisian citizens, the patriots of the college of physicians, and of the chirurgical school, prepared for their use, during their journey, some portable drugs. This was the last patriotic gift they received from their French brothers and friends *!"

---

* In a note of the last quoted work, p. 57. the author says: "It would have been curious to know what reception a French patriot would meet with, were he to attempt, in unintelligible English, to harangue a Society of English patriots of the Whig or other clubs, at the London Tavern, or at the Crown and Anchor, for an hour's time? Most probably, in less than five minutes, they would have silenced him, by throwing him through the windows, into the streets, as he deserved. Even the English patriots have more sense than ours!"

Though Talleyrand had agreed to the necessity of murdering the king, he strenuously recommended that the crime should be perpetrated by the sudden stab of an individual assassin, and not by the judicial sentence of a national tribunal. He had converted, to the same opinion, the English patriots who went to Paris, and they, in their turn, under expectation of preventing future generations from celebrating king Louis's martyrdom in France, as this nation does King

---

* In another note of the same work, p. 56. is stated, "that the English as well as the German patriots, as an evidence of their patriotism, travelled home the whole way from Paris with red caps on their heads, to the no small entertainment of postillions and chamber maids."

Charles's in England, gained over Petion, Brissot, and other republican leaders. This regicide act could, agreeably to their views, best and safest be committed in the confusion of a popular commotion, which was, therefore, resolved on, and the day fixed for the 20th of June *. Four days before, the workmen of the suburb, St. Antoine and St. Marceau, had announced it by a petition to the municipality, requesting leave to assemble in arms, and accoutred as they were, when they took the Bastille, in July 1789, to present petitions to the assembly and the king. This proposal was negatived as repugnant to the constitution; but the jacobin club, abetted by Petion and Manuel, resolved that the petitioners should assemble in defiance of contradiction. This tumultuous rising was also the grand effort of all the factions, and was prepared with all their art and exertion. The walls were covered with placards, grossly abusing the royal family. A public dinner was given in the Champs Elyseés, where the Prussian Baron, Cloots, presided, and the actor, Dugazon, sung songs to prepare the people for the destruction of the king. Gorsas, the editor

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 66.

tor of a jacobin journal, in the service of Brissot, and a secret agent of Talleyrand, declared that, on that day, the sovereign people must plant in the gardens of the Thuilleries, as the tree of liberty, an aspen instead of an oak; and the apostate capuchin, Chabot, harangued for three hours in the church of the Foundlings, exciting the people to insurrection; while Santerre was equally busy in the suburb St. Antoine, and other persons in various other districts of Paris. In the morning of the 20th, Petion sought to avoid responsibility by going to Versailles, under pretence of shewing that place to his guests, the English patriots. Roederer, the general secretary of the department, announced to the national assembly, that 100,000 persons, in military array, who were collected on the scite of the Bastille, encouraged by the presence of three members of the legislature, and the inactivity of the municipality, intended, after presenting a petition in that hall, to repair to the palace of the Thuilleries; and he requested the enforcement of the law by prohibiting the admission of armed petitioners.

During the debate the mob required admission, and obtained it, by promising that they would leave their petition with the assembly, and not proceed to the palace. One Huguenin, formerly a provincial lawyer, and at that time married to a woman, who kept a house of ill fame *, read the petition, which was replete with threats and invectives against the king and queen; and declared, that the sovereign people had risen to avenge their outraged majesty, and blood must flow, before the tree of liberty would flourish in peace. Two hours were then occupied by the petitioners marching through the hall. They were a motly and squalid band, drawn from all the receptacles of beggary, idleness, prostitution, and infamy in Paris, armed with pikes, rusty swords, pick-axes, and clubs. This miserable battalion consisted of coal-men, chimney-sweepers, shoe-blacks, wharf-porters, negroes

---

* This Huguenin made himself the mayor of the insurgent municipality on the 10th of August, 1792, and during a fortnight plundered 6,000,000 livres (250,000l.) in the palaces of the king and of the emigrated nobles. He is now one of Buonaparte's privy counsellors, and his wife has her grand routes frequented by all the fashionables, even the imperial Corsican blackguards. By other plunders he is now enriched to the amount of 600,000l. or 14,000,000 of livres. Les Nouvelles a la Main, Brumaire, year 13. No. iii.

male and female, and women of the lowest and most abandoned class. They carried ensigns, with inscriptions, denoting sanguinary ferocity, occasionally intermixed with coarse ribaldry. Some were inscribed, " Tyrants, tremble! or be just and repair the liberties of the people."—" Louis, the sovereign people are tired of suffering—tremble tyrant, thine hour is come!"—" Thou Austrian wh——, Maria Antoinette, we want thine head on a pike!" One man had a reeking human heart stuck on the point of a sword, inscribed, " The heart of an aristocrat;" one carried ragged breeches on a pike, inscribed " *Libres et sans culottes*," while others stuck on their arms, pieces of bread, cheese, and other food. At the close of the procession, a pair of colours, with the inscription, " Death to all aristocrats," were presented to the assembly, and were graciously received.

On leaving the polluted hall of the legislature the mob divided into three bodies, headed by the bankrupt brewer, Santerre, by the swindler, St. Huruge, and by the prostitute, Theroigne de Mericourt. Regardless of their promise, they proceeded to the palace. The king, who had from a wina window observed their proceedings, repaired to a chamber caled the *Oeil de Bœuf*, the door of which was immediately assailed with various engines, and among others with a dismounted cannon, which was carried up stairs by main strength, and used as a battering ram. The Swiss guards were preparing to shed their blood in an unavailing defence; but the king commanded them to desist, and calling four grenadiers to support him, unbarred the door, and presented himself to the furious multitude. His friends, fearing he would be borne down by the rapidity and violence of the rabble, placed him in the recess of a window. The mob was so numerous, and poured in so rapidly that no one could effect any premeditated purpose; but after venting a portion of fury in words and menacing gestures, was obliged to give place to others. Yet many pointed insults were offered. Le Gendre, the butcher, sallied into the room, at the head of a new division of rabble, uttering threats, and accosting the monarch in the language of the shambles "*Monsieur*" said he; and seeing the king surprised at this new style, he repeated it,—yes, *Monsieur*, listen to us—yes, *Mon-*

sieur, it is your duty to listen to us; you are a traitor; you have always deceived us, and deceive us still; but take care of yourself, *Monsieur*, the measure is full, and the people are tired of being your dupes." After this harangue one of the mob presented a bottle, and desired the king to drink the health of the nation, which he immediately did; another, evidently in liquor, and hearing the king say, the nation had no better friend than himself, required him to prove it by putting on the red cap; and on his consenting, two of them placed it on the top of his hair, for it was too small for his head. The king yielded to this indignity under a firm persuasion, that had he resisted, the drunken man would have plunged his pike into his bowels. No doubt can be entertained, indeed it is avowed by writers of every party, that the intention of the insurgents, was, as has already been stated, to assassinate the king. But although the most infamous libels were hawked about, and sold at a low price in the gardens of the palace, and the most treasonable and inflammatory falsehoods scratched and chaulked on the walls, the work of murder was left incomplete,

complete, and his virtue for the last time triumphed over the plots of his enemies *.

As usual since the revolution, great part of the popular rage was directed against the queen. On the first alarm she caught up the dauphin in her arms, and ran towards the *Oeil de Bœuf*, but the mob had already blocked up the passages; she was stopped in the council room by General Wittinghoff, and the minister La Jarre, who formed a feeble rampart of the council table, behind which they placed the queen, the dauphin, the princess royal, and all the ladies who refused to quit her side. There the queen was obliged to remain during the whole of these horrible scenes, agonised by a knowledge of the king's dangers, and a helpless auditor of the incendiary and obscene reproaches, which wretches of the lowest class seemed unwearied in repeating. The dauphin, like his father, was disguised in the blood-coloured emblem of licentiousness; and the queen was compelled to submit to the same disgrace. Maria Antoinette displayed that noble contempt of death which distinguished the king. She was desirous to send back a body of grenadiers whom he had detached for her protection; but they persisted in obeying their first orders. At length Santerre forced his way to the place, and snatched the red cap from the dauphin, exclaiming:—"The child is smothered! why is this cap left on his head?" And then in a low but distinct voice added to the queen, "Madam, you have very aukward friends; *I know those who would serve you much better* *." That brigand, too, wanted to share with Talleyrand and other traitors the king's bounty of his civil list, and to add corruption to his other enormities.

---

* See Prudhomme's Histoire des Erreurs, &c. vol. iv. p. 37. et seq.

The behaviour of the king's sister, the princess Elizabeth, was in perfect conformity with that of her august relatives. She followed the king to the *Oeil de Bœuf*, where the mob, thinking she was the queen, loaded her with insults and threats. Some of her attendants attempting to explain the mistake, "For God's sake," she said, "do not undeceive them; is it not better they should shed my blood, than that of my sister †? In the whole course of the day she never left her brother's side, nor ever lost her presence of mind.

---

* See Bertrand's Annals, vol. vi. p. 324.

† Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 292.

The national assembly, which had risen immediately after the departure of the mob, resumed their sitting in the afternoon; they treated with rudeness, and frequently interrupted those members who described in terms of just indignation, the atrocities which were committed in the palace, but at length they deputed twenty-four members to express their solicitude for the king's safety. The deputation reached him with difficulty; and when the mob, grown languid by the repetition of insults, no longer shewed a formidable aspect, offered to *protect him*, and *share his dangers*. The king said he was in the midst of his people, and feared nothing. While the deputies were fruitlessly endeavouring to disperse the mob, Petion, at six o'clock in the evening, arrived at the palace, and with the most perfect composure, he advanced to the king, saying, "Sire, I was only this moment informed of your situation, but you have nothing to fear."—"Nothing to fear," replied the king with indignation; "the man, whose conscience is pure and free from reproach, can never fear. Here my friend," he added, taking the hand of a grea grenadier, and pressing it against his bosom, "feel and tell that man, if my heart beat faster than usual." The mob had frequently pressed him with furious acclamations to sanction two unconstitutional decrees, and recall the jacobin ministers; but he replied, "I shall do what I consider right; this is not the moment for you to ask, or for me to grant favours." Convinced that the insurrection would not produce the expected advantages, Petion said, "Citizens, you have now made your desires known to the *hereditary representative* with the *energy* and *dignity* of a *free* people, who understand their rights. The *king* is at present acquainted with, and will undoubtedly *pay proper regard* to the intentions of the *sovereign*. You ought now to retire with calmness and decency, that your intentions may not be calumniated." The obedient sovereign rabble immediately filed off through the king's apartments: at nine the palace was cleared *.

Talleyrand was acquainted within forty-eight hours in London, with the miscarriage of the attempts of the regicides at Paris, and in the bitterness of his disappointment wrote to his female friend under the 23d:—" Your courier of the 20th preceded the one from the minister two hours. Both arrived yesterday in the evening, when I least expected them, and brought the most unlooked for, unaccountable and incomprehensible information. So certain was I of success, that, being indirectly accredited to the court of a monarch, I had for decency sake already bespoken a mourning dress, for what I supposed the departed French monarchy. In what manner did Petion, Roland, Brissot, Condorcet, Manuel, and the whole pack of French and English patriots, follow our plans, and read my explanation, to commit such foolish and unwarrantable blunders? Was Louis XVI. now well encompassed and advised, he might obtain a most exemplary revenge, and adjourn the French republic for many years. It seems that all the firmness and consistency was on that day reserved for the court, and that all its former folly and weakness had smuggled themselves among the ranks of the people, or entered the hearts, and bewildered the brains of their leaders. What! forty thousand patriots masters of the palace for ten hours, and not continue so for ever! It is, and will remain an incomprehensible mystery to me. I have been up all the night, ruminating with Chauvelin how to conduct ourselves here; what to say to the British ministers, or to the king of Great Britain; what to write to Orleans, to Petion, to the French ministers, and to the king of the French. Our situation, by this absurd and impolitic bustle, is rendered extremely critical and unpleasant. What confidence will the English government attach to our assertions, after this intrusion of an armed force into the habitation of our chief magistrate? And what dependence will the English patriots place in our future promise of an universal republic, when they came to France, as it were merely to witness the *first* disgrace that the French patriots ever experienced? If I tell them that the laws will soon force an executioner to strike the blow the assassins refused, they will not believe me, and they are in the right.

---

* La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 77.

"I was this moment interrupted by the arrival of other dispatches with a letter from Louis himself, in which he announces his firm determination to punish those public functionaries, who were not at their post, or who had neglected their duty on the 20th. This we have orders to declare publicly whenever any questions are put to us relative to the late events. He expects La Fayette, but presages too much from the presence of a man of his weak character, who possesses neither the talents nor the principles of a General Monk. Were order once to be restored, he would sink into a merited oblivion and a well-deserved obscurity. This truth he is aware of, and knows that it is only in continuing to be the faithful subject of the sovereign people that he can be any thing. Should he come to Paris it is to revive his dying popularity, more than to revive the expiring monarchy. The advice of the Lameths to try to procure some official note from this court, reprobating the popular excesses against the king and his family is inconsiderate. It cannot be demanded, and if demanded will not be complied with, as it would be an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of France, which we have so often and so justly declared to foreign states, that we would never permit. As I have no time to write, inform them of this observation.

"The calumny of my enemies, that I use the credit I have from the patriots at Paris on houses in this city, to speculate to my private advantage, and neglect their interest, certainly originates from the malignity and vengeance of the English patriots, and will die away at their departure, which cannot be distant, as their *brilliant campaign* must be nearly at an end. I have written four lines of consolation to the mayor (Petion,) and six words to the duke (Orleans). I pity neither of them for having suffered themselves to be outwitted even by the court. Inform nobody, except the Lameths, of your having heard from me, or that you have written to me. This unfortunate failure has created a disagreeable sensation in this country even among those who wish well to the revolution. The reports of my agents are unanimous on this subject; one of them even heard a famous member of opposition say this morning, "That two or three more such ill-conducted attempts would force the friends of liberty here to disown those in France *."

Petion stated the events of the 20th in a speech at the national assembly made up of gross falsehoods, and of those fallacious equivocations, which prove more thorough depravity of mind, than is demonstrated by the most flagrant falsehoods. "Every thing," said he, "indicates the greatest tranquillity. Persons, property—all were *respected*. What has happened? The people were passing through the Thuilleries, when *several* citizens proceeded to the king's apartments; *they insulted nobody, nor had the king any reason to complain!*" Such was the detestable attempt of this public functionary to palliate a premeditated, forcible irruption of forty thousand people into the private apartments of the sovereign, so as to make it appear the accidental intrusion of *several* persons who were passing through the Thuilleries, but who *insulted* no one, and gave the king himself no right to complain. The assembly loudly applauded this infamous harangue, and closed the sitting at ten o'clock without expressing the slightest disapprobation of the events of the day *. But although the legislative body was so easily satisfied, as Talleyrand had apprehended, the public in all parts of the kingdom expressed the highest indignation. That part of the populace at Paris, which had not been actively engaged in the insurrection, mingled with their invectives against those who excited it, expressions of admiration at the firm and noble conduct of the king and his family. The national guards seemed also to partake in the general remorse, by their honest and effectual efforts to prevent armed and seditious collections of the people. The king increased these favourable impressions by a judicious proclamation, denouncing the conduct and views of the factious; asserting his own resolution not to be impelled by force to the adoption of measures, which he considered repugnant to the public interest; and declaring, that if they who wished to overthrow monarchy, had need of one crime more they might commit it.

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 120 et seq.

---

* See Biographical Memoirs by Adolphus, vol. i. p. 67 et seq. In these well-written and impartial memoirs, the characters of La Fayette, Petion, Brissot, and other notorious rebels, are drawn with a masterly hand, and well worthy of attention.

This proclamation produced a general sensation in favour of the king, but its desponding terms were truly indicative of the state of his mind. He gave way to gloomy forebodings, frequently perused the history of our Charles I.

and

and wished only to die by the hand of an assassin, that the nation might not be stigmatised for his murder. He rejected all propositions for effecting his escape, lest his family should fall victims to the popular fury; a thought he could not endure, though he would have been himself a willing and contented sacrifice *. To counteract the probable effect of the public feeling, the jacobins endeavoured to keep up an active solicitude respecting the two unsanctioned decrees, and the assembly rendered ministers responsible for the refusal of the sanction. Contradictory opinions were advanced with great acrimony, and the contest of parties appeared to be equally balanced; but the jacobins had the unrivalled advantage of posting inflammatory placards, terrifying the tranquil or timid out of the assembly, and procuring daily deputations with incendiary petitions. Many loyal addresses were also forwarded from departments and municipalities; but the arrival of a fresh gang of Marseillois brigands gave increased spirits to the jacobins, and presaged final success to their efforts.

---

* See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 296 et seq.

At this crisis intelligence arrived, that the armies had learnt with lively indignation the occurrences of the 20th of June, and that several battalions had only been restrained from repairing to Paris, and chastising those who had insulted the king, by La Fayette, who promised to be the bearer of their sentiments, and enforce them in the assembly. As Talleyrand predicted in his letter, the king and his friends could expect, or if they expected, would experience no favourable effect, in consequence of the mission of this general. After pronouncing a speech at the bar of the assembly, he wanted both presence of mind to urge the consideration of his message, and resolution to appeal against the indecency with which he was treated. The populace, who had paid him some marks of respect on his arrival, now burnt him in effigy; while, from the tribunes of the jacobin and cordeliers' clubs, denunciations and ludicrous invectives were showered on him in abundance. Disappointed, derided, and trembling for his safety, this rash and shallow adventurer quitted Paris, without gaining either the slightest advantage for himself or the king, but by his temerity and weakness added to the resources, as well as to the insolence of traitors and conspirators *.

Though it might be supposed that Talleyrand's time was now pretty well taken up with political schemes and machinations, his private correspondence proves, that his intrigues with women continued their usual train, and had even come to the knowledge of his Parisian and *political* mistress. He wrote to her under July 2d:—"As I have been silent about Narbonne's frequent visits to you, and your still more frequent trips to the *Bois de Boulogne*, I was rather surprised that you should upbraid me for my *tête à tête* with Madame de N—— and Lady A—— as you call her. Accustomed to the society of women from my youth, and to divert my mind, after hard labour or study, with their lively sallies, you could not expect me to renounce them here, where I am almost worn out with vexatious affairs, and because I could not converse with you, see in private no other person of your sex. These pretentions would be ridiculous on your part, and insupportable on mine. But I wrong you—you have too much sense to give way to such extravagant ideas. Let me, therefore, consider what can be the real cause of this petty but adroit sortie! Shall I explain it to you? Yes, I must, that you may be convinced, for the hundredth time, of its being out of the power of women, with all their natural cunning and hypocrisy to impose upon me. You had heard of the orders I received from the king to come over to France, and that this voyage agreed with the wishes of my other constituents. You concluded in consequence, that I should soon arrive, and when arrived be informed of your many daily and *nightly* conferences with several active citizens, as a Narbonne, Sartine, &c. &c. To be before-hand with me, you accuse me of infidelities, of which you cannot be certain, concluding from my silence, that your manoeuvres, marches, and counter-marches are unknown to me. You might, however, have guessed from your having spies about me, that I might also in my turn not be entirely without some intelligence concerning you. What would you think of my discretion, was I now to tell you, from hour to hour, day after day, and *night* after *night*, those whom you have admitted, and those whom you have excluded from your *boudoir*; those you have visited, and by whom you have been visited; whom you met five times in six days in the cottage at the *Bois de Boulogne*; your *rendezvous* in the private box at the opera, at your milliner's, on the new Boulevard, at the Vauxhall *d'Eté*, &c. Thank me, therefore, for my good-natured silence, and cease your grave airs, and our peace is concluded before hostilities have commenced. To convince you also of the sincerity of my offers of reconciliation, and that my complacency is as great as your *curiosity*, (between you and me *jealousy* is out of the question!) I will let you know, that Madame de N—— was my acquaintance at Versailles, where we were neighbours, and that I now, when at leisure, merely console her for the absence of her valiant husband, encamped with the other defenders of the altar and the throne somewhere in Germany, on the banks of the Rhine. The person you call Lady A—— is the daughter of an honest Swiss merchant formerly settled here, who, after two bankruptcies, went to make his fortune in India, leaving his wife and child to shift for themselves. The latter of course accepted of the brilliant offers of Lord A——, and lived with him two years, until he had squandered away a great part of his property in gambling, and could no longer keep her in the same extravagant style as before. Since that period she has had several lovers, but as she speaks good French, and I found the place vacant and advantageous, I have agreed to pay her one hundred guineas per month, for her amorous *tête à tête*, as well as for her political services and information. Being a woman of abilities, and being acquainted with several persons in credit at court, she procures me much useful intelligence, which I could obtain in no other quarter. I can, therefore, in conscience do no less than place this monthly stipend to the account of the nation as secret service money. Let this remain *entre nous*, but I hope that this confidence will remove your anxiety about any general intercourse with females, as reported to you. At my age, and with my experience, a man must be mad to ruin himself with women. She wished to accompany me to Paris, but she requires some years more experience before I dare introduce her into that vast field of intrigue; I leave her, therefore, during my absence under the trusty care of our secretary of legation, Rheinhard, one of the most phlegmatic Germans I ever met with, though he is not without talents.

---

* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. i. p. 473.

"One of *my* English patriots, just returned from Paris, has this instant left me. If all his patriotic countrymen possessed the same enthusiasm which he does, a republican fraternity would soon be established between France and England, and the Channel exist no longer, or be dried up. He speaks with rapture of what he has seen and experienced, and is confident of bringing about a revolution here, as soon as a republic is proclaimed in France. He ascribes the late disappointment to want of energy in Santerre and Huguenin. Being ordered by the insurrection committee at Paris, on an expedition to Yorkshire and to Scotland, I was obliged to advance him one hundred and fifty guineas, though I am thoroughly convinced that he was paid all his expences before he left France. He shewed with extacy his red cap, and the tri-coloured cockade, and intends to buy and distribute many dozens of them during his journey, which will probably extend as far as Ireland, as I want a trusty and active person there; and he has obtained the entire confidence of our principal patriots. Inform Petion of these particulars, but let nobody else know that I have written to you. In four days I will set out for France, and this will, therefore, in all probability, be the last letter you will receive from me before I see you. Embrace our dear boy. I have consulted one of the first surgeons here, who gives me hope, that in following his prescription, the deafness will be cured *."

On the 7th of July, Talleyrand left London for Paris, where he arrived on the 11th. The period of the second confederation now approached, and it was rendered additionally alarming, by the arrival of large bands of *Fédérés* from the departments, who were selected from the most furious or fanatical members of clubs, and presented petitions of the most inflammatory and unconstitutional tendency, openly avowing their determination of dethroning the king, and demanding his immediate trial and death. Among those men, those called the *Marsellois Fédérés*, particularly distinguished themselves for their violence and sanguinary threats. They were headed by some revolutionists from that city, but otherwise consisted chiefly of Corsican criminals, released from the galleys at Marseilles; or of Piedmontese vagabonds or brigands, engaged in the service of the conspirators by the promise of pillage. A plot, formed by Santerre, to murder the queen, was also betrayed, and the assassin arrested, but rescued by his party*. The public were kept in alarm by reports of conspiracies, to be executed on the day of confederation. The barracks of the military school were searched on account of this suspicion, and the troops of the line compelled to leave Paris. The people were even agitated by a report, that gunpowder was deposited under the altar, to blow up the national assembly in the act of taking the oath; and were only undeceived by an examination on the spot. Talleyrand was present, but did not officiate at the ceremony of this confederation; which, though loaded with several new burlesque pageantries, was, however, on the whole, quiet and orderly. The royal family were placed in a balcony covered with crimson velvet, which gave rise to some petulant exclamations from the mob; and the cries of *Vive le Roi!* were drowned with *Vive Petion! vivent les Jacobins! abas le veto!* The king, however, taking the oath on the altar, instead of remaining in his place as on the former occasion, completely gratified the populace, and he quitted the *Champ de Mars* amidst loud and general acclamations *. But the very next day the *Fédérés* again petitioned for the deposition of the king, and declared their fixed determination to adopt no part of the constitution, but the Rights of Man; and to throw a veil over that, they required also, the convocation of the primary assemblies, at which all but mendicants and vagrants should vote, for the purpose of fixing the number of representatives competent to form a national convention, and of confirming the deposition of the king.

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 133. et seq.

---

* See Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 337. and Annals, vol. vii. p. 15.

Of all the factious and conspirators then at Paris, Talleyrand had the least to apprehend from a new revolution. If the royalists had been victorious, he was safe, his treachery being unknown to his prince; and if the Orleanists, or republicans, got the better of their opponents, the services he had rendered them, at the expence of his duty to his sovereign, promised him a reward instead of proscription. He hastened back, however to England, and landed at Dover on the 21st of July, where he wrote to his mistress on the same day. "Though labouring under a severe indisposition, in consequence of a boisterous passage, I shall endeavour to forget the pains of my body in confiding to my friend the troubles of my mind. I have certainly seen the last king of the French for the last time!—This event, you will say, is what I have long wished for.—True.—But I expected some sort of government, either a dictatorship or a republic, to be prepared to succeed immediately, whilst I have found no plans for the establishment of a new system, though I have been so long plotting the destruction of the old one. Of this improvidence anarchists, destitute of virtue and patriotism, will take advantage. They will wade through seas of blood, and through ruins of cities and towns, of trade and agriculture, to a tyranny, which (unless circumstances should happen, of which there is not the most distant probability) must necessarily cause the dissolution of civilised society. In that vortex of confusion and crimes, what patriotism can be safe, and what innocence respected? Who can prevent our countrymen from butchering each other in civil wars? or what means have we to oppose to foreign enemies, who, after vanquishing our divided forces, will partition our country, and dispose of Frenchmen like the unfortunate Poles, to proud, unmerciful, or tyrannical neighbours? These ideas are gloomy, and I sincerely wish they may prove erroneous; but for my part I would this moment rather inhabit the forests of Africa and America, than France. On one hand we see the king deserted by those who ought to be his friends, and deprived of his authority, a willing sacrifice to his earnest endeavours to preserve the constitution. The Duke of Orleans determined to annihilate the throne, without the means of raising a new fabric on its ruins; whilst Petion, Brissot, and their partisans are without any other union of views, than the removal of Louis XVI.; but they all mistrust each other; and, as far as they have let me into their secrets, *these republicans* have not yet agreed *to declare France a republic.* Have I not reason, therefore to be alarmed, whilst every thing is left to chance and nothing is fixed? The destiny of France has (compared with that of other great states) hitherto been singularly prosperous. This is my only consolation for her present critical situation, and my sole hope that she will escape the present numerous internal and external dangers which now threaten an almost inevitable ruin. I think myself, however, extremely fortunate in having a plausible pretext for being absent; and I conjure you, should any proposal for recalling me come to your knowledge, to endeavour to dissuade it, or let me know it in time, that I may prepare some excuse for not obeying, which I am resolved to do, let the consequences be what they will.

---

* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. i. p. 83. Bertrand's Annals, vol. vii. p. 16.

"The contents of this letter I intended to communicate to you in person before I left Paris; but on the day of my departure, when I promised to call upon you, Petion remained with me until 11 o'clock at night; nor did he quit me before he saw me into my carriage on my return; he then, whether from suspicion, or merely from *attention*, I am at a loss to divine; but I trust, through my friend's ingenuity, to be able to solve this perplexing mystery. You must be more regular and more particular in your letters than formerly.—The times are much altered for the worse. Spare no expences in couriers or for private information. From the great fermentation among the people, at this momentous crisis, something terrible may daily be expected; you will, therefore, easily judge of my impatience and anxiety to hear from you.

"I have now brought over with me (with the exception of the 120,000 livres (50,000l.) laid out in national property) my whole fortune. As I employed a man, in whom I do not much confide, to procure me bills on London, this precaution of mine may come to the ears of the patriots, and incur their censure. Should this be the case, you may say, that this operation was merely a financial speculation, in consequence of the lowness of the exchange, and that I intend to remit my money over again, and deposit in your funds, when the exchange becomes more in our favour, which must happen, when the patriots have seized on the government, and begin to display their usual energy *."

The faction which had so long agitated the capital, was, at this period, less interested in opposing the efforts of an external enemy, than in procuring the downfal of the royal power; against which their animosity daily increased. Their private councils were turbulent and uncertain, and their mutual rivalry was, with difficulty, prevented from producing open hostilities. The contempt of the public for their characters and proceedings, prevented any general exertion in their behalf; and although delusion and calumny had rendered the people indifferent to the fate of the royal family, the faction could obtain no strenuous indications of favour, except from hired mobs, prompted petitioners, and their own immediate dependants and expectants. Such were at once their malice and their impotency, that they seriously discussed the propriety of murdering one of their own friends, and imputing the crime to the court, in order to excite the indignation of the

---

* See La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. p. 136 et seq.

the people*. The *Fédérés* from the departments were less than three thousand in number, but as they formed the chief hope of the party, they were detained in Paris, contrary to a decree of the assembly, directing them, after the confederation, to repair to the camp at Soissons. The vagabonds petitioned the assembly to suspend the executive power in the person of the king, to discharge the staff and other military officers appointed by him, to change the judicial bodies, to impeach La Fayette, and to punish all persons suspected of aristocracy. This insolent attempt of a handful of provincial adventurers to legislate in all matters, civil and military, for the whole kingdom, occasioned some surprise; but the assembly, though they did not comply with the unwarrantable demands of the petitioners, basely invited them to the honours of the sitting. To procure a decree of forfeiture of the crown was the general aim of all the members forming the popular junto, but their ulterior project, as Talleyrand remarked in his letter, were widely different. Some thought of establishing a council of regency during the minority of the Dauphin, and ruling the realm by their influence in the legislature; a second party hoped to make the Duke of Orleans regent, and by moulding him to their will, to govern in his name; while a third party, too low to expect influence at court, too limited in talents to gain ascendancy in the legislature, and too recently introduced to hope for authority with the Duke of Orleans, concealed their views with cautious mystery, intending to make the utmost advantage of any change, but at all events to maintain their influence with the rabble, by whose means they could, at all times, render themselves formidable and dreaded. Such were the infamous monsters in the shape of men, who, on the 10th of August, overturned, in four hours, a throne which had withstood the shock of fourteen centuries, who directed the murder of prisoners on the 2d, 3d, and 4th September; and who, on the 22d of the same month, polluted with plunder, and stained with blood, became the founders of the French Republic.

---

* See Œuvres de Madame Roland, vol. i. p. 251, and Histoire du regne de Frederic Guillaume II. Roi de Prusse, par Segur, vol. ii. p. 261.

As soon as the fatal catastophe of the 10th of August was known in this country, our court wrote to Lord Gower, the ambassador at Paris, expressing the king's deep affliction at the extent and deplorable consequences of the late disturbance, both on account of his personal attachment to their most Christian Majesties, and his earnest desire for the tranquillity and prosperity of a kingdom, with which he was on terms of friendship. As the exercise of the executive power had been withdrawn from Louis XVI. Lord Gower was directed to leave Paris, as his credentials could be no longer valid; and as that step appeared most conformable to the neutrality hitherto observed. But in all conversations he was directed to declare, that his Majesty intended to observe the principles of neutrality in every thing regarding the internal government of France; nor did he conceive that he departed from that principle, in manifesting, by every means in his power, his solicitude for the personal safety of their most Christian Majesties and their family; hoping they would be preserved from every act of violence, the commission of which could not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout Europe *.

---

* See Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, part ii. p. 326.

In answering this note, Le Brun, the new minister for foreign affairs, expressed polite regret at the resolution to remove the ambassador; but that feeling was abated by the renewed assurance of neutrality, which was the result of an intention wisely considered, and formally expressed by his Britannic Majesty not to meddle with the interior arrangements of the affairs of France. The minister then dwelt with admiration on the efforts of the English nation in favour of liberty, and the unalienable sovereignty of the people; and declared, that the French nation had good grounds to hope, the British cabinet would not, at this decisive moment, depart from that justice, moderation, and impartiality which it had hitherto manifested *.

No official statement mentions that Lord Gower left any chargé d'affaires behind him at Paris, nor that our government appointed any diplomatic agent there as its representative to the self-created executive councils. Talleyrand, however, in a letter to his mistress, sends pri-

---

* See Rivington's Annual Register for 1792, part ii. p. 326. and Marsh's History of the Politics, &c. chap. ix. Bertrand's Annals, vol. ii. p. 335.

vate information to Petion of a gentleman, indirectly accredited to them by our ministers. He writes, under the 9th of September, "According to Petion's confidential request, I send you all the particulars I have been able to collect, concerning the person indirectly accredited to our provisional government by the English ministry, and of which you must not fail immediately to transmit him a copy. Mr. Munroe is a Scotchman by birth, and was formerly a captain in the forty-first regiment of foot, from which, about three years ago he was obliged to sell out, having involved himself in some pecuniary difficulties by a marriage with a lady of a noble family, but of no fortune, by whom he had several children. In 1790, during the insurrection in Brabant, he went to Brussels, and was made a major in the Britannic legion of the patriotic army. It is also supposed, that he was there employed secretly by the English government, to report the occurrences during the campaign, and to watch both General Koehler, an English officer, but commander in chief of the patriots; and Colonel Gardener, the British agent to the patriotic Belgic congress. After the Austrians had defeated the patriots, and their troops were disbanded, he returned to England, but was, together with General Koehler, soon again employed by the British ministers in a military-political mission to Turkey. When at Constantinople he disagreed with Koehler, and in consequence returned home early last summer. He is a man of parts, but has never hitherto shone in any political transactions or negociations, and is therefore deemed a better officer than diplomate. My opinion is, that he has instructions rather to watch our military movements and undertakings, than to penetrate into the views of our cabinet. Indeed, as true friends of general freedom, the members of our executive council act with a *justice*, *candour*, *frankness*, and openness of heart, worthy their situation, principles, and professions, in a manner that leaves no secrets to be discovered, even by the most subtle agent! As to his political principles, though he has served among patriots, I am told that he is a moderate aristocrat, and though not rich, of a character not to be tempted with money. But as he is still young, and has lost his wife, some of our young, amiable, and *rich* female sans culottes might, at least without danger, lay siege to his heart, and Venus may, perhaps, conquer in the field where Pluto would be sure of a defeat. Every thing considered, I strongly recommend, that no other than female agents should be employed about him, being brave as well as disinterested. I have hitherto been unable to procure any of his cyphers. As he seems in a fair way of becoming a rising favourite with the English ministers, advise Petion to treat him with distinction.

"From Petion's last letter, I apprehend that a coolness or mistrust subsists between him and some of the new ministers, which prevents me from communicating this intelligence to Le Brun, or to himself, in the usual way, to be laid before all the members of the committee. You must find out the cause of this ambiguity, and inform me of it in your next. But what can be the reason of your long silence? I have not heard from you for these ten days, a period so *interesting* to all friends of liberty, and so terrible to all its enemies. I am greatly mistaken if the late *acts* of *vigour* at Paris have not made every prince tremble upon his throne, and every aristocrat turn

turn pale with disappointment, rage, or terror. A few more such dreadfully *glorious* examples, and liberty and equality will then shed its benign influence over the universe, and the world contain a race of brothers. I supped last night at the Scotch Lord M——ld's, in Great George-street, not far from St. James's, where the party, all aristocrats, though plagued with the infection which the vicinity of courts always introduces, seemed panic-struck, and ready to capitulate with the sans culottes. They had read in a ministerial paper, called the Times, a full account of the late *noble* scenes, in and near the prisons (sent no doubt by some secret British agent, being rather exaggerated), and were so petrified with horror, that they looked as if uncertain whether their own heads were still on their shoulders. They seemed ready to sacrifice their ridiculous rank, their puerile decorations, and their usurped property, to preserve their petty, insignificant, useless existence, and to want only the word of command for subscribing, on their knees, their oath of allegiance to their natural sovereign—the sovereign people!

"I repeat again, and you may tell it to Petion, that the patriots must continue to reign by terror, if they deserve their names to be handed down to posterity with those of Brutus, Gracchus, Publicola, or Cato, of antiquity. When once liberty and equality are peaceably placed, not on thrones or altars, but in the bosoms of all people, and of all classes of people, then clemency may, with honour and safety, become the order of the day *!"

The period so *interesting* to all the friends of liberty, and the acts of vigour which Talleyrand mentions with so much encomium and satisfaction, were the terrible and savage massacres of prisoners during the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September. Petion, Danton, Marat, Manuel, Mehec de la Touche, and other rebels of the same description, needy themselves, and surrounded by rapacious adherents, found but little satisfaction in the power they had usurped since the 10th of August, and which might not be permanent; they therefore formed plans of numerous imprisonments, and a massacre which might enrich them and all their dependents. The decrees of the assembly for imprisoning priests and *suspected* characters, for domiciliary visits, and for establishing a revolutionary tribunal, which tried criminals for treason against the nation, were all favourable to this new conspiracy, the parties of which loaded themselves with the spoils of such as could compound, by means of gold, for their safety, and glutted their vengeance, or forwarded their political projects by the sacrifice of others. Many were carried to prison without the allegation of any crime, but their property, talents, and loyalty. Arrests were executed in all quarters; in houses, streets, squares, gardens, churches, and theatres. The hackney coaches, soldiers, and officers of justice, were all employed in taking persons into custody, and conveying them to prison. The priests and ex-nobles were told they would be transported to the coast of Africa. Danton obtained lists of the prisoners, and Petion, or Manuel, daily numbered the victims; encouraging them to collect their property, by an ambiguous declaration, that they would be liberated on the 2d of September. That day was fixed on for the muster of the new levies in the *Champ de Mars*, whence they were to march in a body

---

* La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés, &c. tom. iv. p. 143 et 144.

body to meet the Austrian and Prussian invaders in Champagne. In the course of the day alarming reports were circulated, and fatal jealousies excited. It was asserted that the Prussians, having taken Chalons, were within ten leagues of Paris. They were to be joined by an immense body in the departments, and reinforced by a party in the capital, who, as soon as the new levies had left the city, would rise, open the prisons, murder the patriots, and one tenth of the citizens, release the royal family, and reinstate the king in his pristine power. At one o'clock the cannon of alarm was fired, the tocsin sounded, the barriers were shut, and the country proclaimed in danger. The citizens, panic-struck, and torpid with surprise, retired to their habitations; while a prepared band of assassins went to the various prisons where they butchered, one by one, the ex-nobles, the priests, the Swiss officers, and all other arrested persons. They instituted in each prison a pretended court of justice, composed of self-constituted judges, chiefly brigands under the hand of justice, or escaped from the galleys, many of whom could not read. These ruffians ordered the execution of almost every person brought before them; and it was the melancholy employment of those confined, and expecting their fate, to examine the various modes of receiving the stroke of death, and calculate in which position it appeared to give least pain, or occasion the smallest struggle. The sentence of acquittal pronounced in favour of a few, was drowned in the yell of the exterminators around the doors, and they too were inhumanly slain. The terrors of some who attended as witnesses, overcoming their presence of mind, they were murdered amongst other victims.

These horrible scenes continued three days, and though some attempts were made in the national assembly to arrest their progress, the number of individuals concurring in particular parts of the transaction, prevented any general exertion. Petion and Roland made no vigorous representations, because they rejoiced at the extermination of priests and nobles. Brissot forbore exerting himself, because some personal enemies of his own were confined, and he hoped they would be numbered among the killed. Tallien and Manuel, who were sent with other members of the commune to stay the hands of the assassins, rather encouraged and justified, than impeded them. Mehec de la Touche and Marat paid the assassins for their *patriotism*; and Danton, when application was made to him, answered, "The devil take the prisoners, what care I for their fate!" nor did the work of slaughter cease till the objects of vengeance no longer existed. Amid these horrible transactions, acts of heroic virtue beamed forth on the part of the sufferers, which afford some relief to those who peruse the dismal annals of that period. The priests bore their fate with such fortitude and resignation, as to call to mind, in a corrupt age and atheistical nation, the genuine portrait of the primitive martyrs. Many individuals exhibited heroic courage, and none acquired more admiration than two young ladies named de Sombreuil and Cazotte, who, after receiving several wounds, rescued their fathers by interposing their own persons to shield them from danger. On the other hand, the murderers displayed, not only an unrelenting ferocity, but a sedate malignity, generally only acquired by veteran practice. Faint gleams of generosity distinguished one or two from the rest; but hacking and hewing dead and living bodies, with blunt instruments, tearing out entrails, drinking and smearing themselves with human blood, and parading the city with heads and hearts on pikes, were the characteristic employments of these blood-thirsty savages, while the government permitted thirty thousand national guards to recruit their arms, without offering the slightest resistance.

The Princess de Lamballe was one of the victims whose fate was particularly commiserated. Safe in England, in the spring of the same year, the author of this life was honoured and entrusted by the late unfortunate queen of France, to deliver her a letter of recall from a friend, not of command from a sovereign. She made no hesitation in obeying what her heart desired, more than her duty dictated; although she foresaw and foretold that this return to France would be fatal to her. Being confined in the prison of La Force, since the 10th of August, she was brought before the tribunal of assassins established in the prison, and on nobly refusing to take the oath of hatred to the royal family, her relatives, was barbarously butchered, and her body mangled and exposed in a manner too indecent for description.

scription. Her head and heart, the one stuck on the point of a sword, and the other on a pike, were carried in a sanguinary procession to the Temple, for the purpose of terrifying and insulting the royal captives. The king and queen were prevented from seeing the horrid spectacle, though not from hearing the tumult and abuse of the rabble. One of the commissioners on duty announced the Princess of Lamballe's murder in terms so brutal, that the queen fainted away; and even the good king, forgetting his usual patience, expressed his feelings in terms of indignation *. The number of persons killed in Paris alone is computed at about 8000, all unarmed, and no exertion made on their behalf in any quarter †.

---

* See Journal de Clery, p. 25. et seq. and the Revolutionary Plutarch, vol. iii. p. 183. *note*. The Princess de Lamballe was one of the most amiable, accomplished, and beautiful ladies of her age, a princess of the blood of the house of Sardinia, and sister-in-law to the late Duke of Orleans.

† See Biographical Memoirs, vol. i. p. 259. 319, and 322. Bertrand's Annals, vol. vii. p. 351, et seq. Regne de Frederic Guillaume II. vol. ii. p. 278. and Histoire General des Crimes, &c. par Prudhomme, vol. iv. p. 75, 78. et seq.

Those horrid deeds were the "dreadfully *glorious* examples," which Talleyrand in his letter recommended to be repeated, and "the *noble* scenes which he jocosely states to have frightened the English aristocrats, scenes regarded even in France with such abhorrence, that each victorious faction has ever since reproached and accused their rivals or opponents of being the contrivers and executors of them, and for that alone representing them as deserving the indignation and chastisement of their contemporaries. Were it, however, possible to discover the secret sentiments of each man of each party figuring in the blood-stained annals of that awful period, it is not hazarding too much to suppose that every faction furnished some direct or indirect accomplices or abettors; because when once a man forgets his duty, breaks his allegiance, and becomes a rebel, the step to become an assassin is but short, and when self-interest, vengeance, or ambition invites, easy and alluring. Who would have suspected that Talleyrand, a nobleman, a bishop, a man of erudition and of talents, could be guilty, of not only approving, but commending these enormities, had not his own correspondence proved it? Round Buonaparte's person, in Buonaparte's family*, in his senate, in his council of state, legislative body, and tribunate; among his grand officers of state, and of the legion of honour; among his field marshals, generals, ambassadors, judges, and prefects, are numerous individuals accused by public opinion, and incontestibly proved by authentic documents, to have been among the most active Septembrizers, or butchers; or among the still more guilty, those who encouraged, misled, directed, and paid the assassins, and afterwards shared the spoils of the victims, in falsely disclaiming all knowledge of the perpetrators, or hypocritically blaming them for these unheard-of atrocities. Whether weltering in the bloody mire of the early days of the rebellion, or cringing in blood-stained palaces round an infamous Buonaparte, whether denying in the national convention the existence of a divinity, or kneeling in Notre Dame before the Pope, as the vicar of Christ; whether erecting altars to a Marat, or thrones to a Buonaparte: whether extolling the *virtues* of the creole Empress of the French, or singing hymns to the negro Empress of the Haytians—revolutionary Frenchmen are the same—the most guilty, abandoned, debased, and despicable of all beings, disgracing the human species.

---

* See in the Revolutionary Plutarch, the Lives of Lucien Buonaparte and General Marat, &c.

If Talleyrand rejoiced here at the horrors committed in France, his mistress and correspondent, who was an eye witness of what he only knew from reading reports, felt differently, and did not think herself even secure from the popular fury, though acquainted with, and under the protection of several of the principal chiefs of the ruling brigands of the day. This is evident from his last letter, written in this country to that lady under the date of 18th of September. "How ridiculous your panic, and how unfounded your alarm! connected, as you are, with the *purest* and staunchest patriots, how can you apprehend that the proscription of persons of your cast will ever extend to you? Your sex, your services, and your patriotism all assure your safety. I thought you had more firmness, and better judgment; more confidence in my friendship, and less suspicion of the *morality* of my correspondents. You never were more necessary at Paris for my interest than at this momentous crisis; nor did I at any time less desire to see you in London. But as I must conclude from the contents of your letter, that terror has entirely bewildered your senses, I have written both to Petion, that he may procure you a pass for this country, and to Cabanis, to let you assume in the pass the name of his wife, and Charles that of his son. This last precaution I am certain was unnecessary; but to quiet your troubled imagination, I have resorted to it as an infallible expedient for preventing any interruption in your voyage, Cabanis being intimate with all the members of the new commune, and having openly declared himself in favour of the late necessary revolution. But before you quit Paris, I think it my duty to inform you, that in coming here you expose yourself to witness a repetition of what you, with such fear, have seen in France within the last three months. Every thing here is ripe, and every body here is prepared for an insurrection, and for an overthrow. The government is intimidated; the opposition intriguing; the aristocrats disunited, trembling, and thunderstruck; the patriots firm and active, and the people discontented or disaffected.—After this information go on, if you think proper, with your plan of coming over here, but do not accuse me afterwards, should you repent of your rashness. Your husband is in the right to disapprove it, but he is in the wrong not to convince you of your error. Before you receive this letter, I suppose that France is decreed a republic; and of course a government fixed, which will possess power enough to put a stop to the anarchy of which you complain *so bitterly*. You will, therefore, have nothing more to dread from what you call a licentious populace, particularly as the most dangerous enemies of liberty and equality are already *removed*. The fate of Louis XVI. and his family cannot long influence or interest the public, since their treason against the nation is, or will soon be made evident. The foreign armies will never dare to advance so far as Paris; but were they imprudent enough to penetrate so far, they will be cut off to a man, and their ruin be a signal for the Low Countries, for Germany, and for Holland, to join with France and England in annihilating tyranny, and establishing universal liberty. I do not speak this from mere suppositions, but from intelligence obtained from various quarters, and of which I have no reason to doubt the authenticity. Should you, notwithstanding, persist in leaving your country, I would advise you to go to Switzerland in preference to England. There you might continue your correspondence with me here as well as with our friends at Paris, and be besides vastly useful in plans of propagating the rights of man on the other side of the Alps, where the friends of liberty are both numerous and enlightened, and from whom overtures have been made to me, that may ultimately be of great consequence to France; but it is not yet the time to disclose them. Consider all those circumstances before you set out; but believe me also sincere, when I declare, that nobody could be more happy in embracing you, than your affectionate friend; who will, in the mean time, have every thing ready prepared for your reception here, and who will use every endeavour, when you are once here, to make your stay as agreeable and *safe* as possible. I do protest, that the representations I have urged against your leaving

France, are dictated entirely by consideration for your happiness, and comfort; but you are, and with me always shall be, respected, as an independent mistress of your own actions; and my heart, as well as my arms, shall at all times, in all circumstances, and in all countries, be ready to receive you. Try to calm yourself enough to be able, before your departure, to find out the present situation of parties in France, and whether their rivalry originates in disguised ambition, or in misconceived patriotism. Are Petion, Brissot, Condorcet, Roland, Manuel, and the Girondists always united in views? What are the real plans of the Duke of Orleans? He has lately been ill advised, or rather betrayed; he is dishonoured, and his pretensions irreparably lost. Are not Robespierre, Danton, Sieyes, and Marat now his principal counsellors; or have they only used him and his former rank and property to advance their own interest, and to diminish that of their opposers? What is become of La Clos, of Sillery, and of his wife Madame Genlis? have they deserted their patron, or has he disgraced them? To what party are the Generals, Dumourier, Luckner, Kellerman, Custine,

tine, Biron, Montesquieu, and Dillon attached? What is the opinion of the patriots, of the people, and of the troops concerning these military characters? Do the ministers still act in unison together, or between what parties are they divided? Is there any talk of a new change in the ministry, and who are supposed to be going out, or who intriguing to get in? How is the public spirit in general? Are emigrations still as numerous to Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain, as to England? Though most of these queries have already been answered or explained to me by other correspondents, I trust so much to your penetration and judgment, *when not terrified*, that I must hear your sentiments before I am satisfied.

" I intreat you to speak seriously to Petion about my repeated demands of being discharged from all pecuniary transactions with the English patriots. They worry me almost to death with their excessive and impudent extortions, and deprive me of that composure and serenity, which is necessary to transact those other delicate affairs with which I am entrusted. But yesterday I had several fresh proofs of their rapacity and impositions. It had some time ago been agreed in our committees, in hope of encouraging some wealthy friends of open revolution in this country to open their purses, that subscriptions for assisting France in her war against despotism should be advertised, as already begun by certain individuals, patriots in our pay, who were to obtain, and who have already obtained from me the sums subscribed in their names. This manœuvre is not only politic, by convincing the people of France, that they have numerous adherents in this country, who approve of all the late changes, who support their cause, and who are ready to imitate their example; but also advantageous in making the patriots here know their friends from their enemies; many persons having come forward, who from their affluent situation in life, and high rank in society, were never thought friendly to a *reform*, which must subvert all unnatural property, as well as level all unnatural distinctions. It disseminates a desire and spirit of innovation among the lower classes, and diverts the attention of ministers from more serious and dangerous undertakings, ripening for a sudden explosion. Thus, had the

English patriots acted honestly no money would have been lost, but much might have been gained by France; I therefore did not hesitate to advance to each patriot who waited on me, a smaller or larger sum, according to the recommendation of the executive committee, which he previously presented. Judge after this of my surprize, when last Saturday morning the treasurer called on me for the payment of these subscriptions, the patriots having only set down names, but pocketed the money. Upon my declaration of what had occurred, he laughed in my face, saying, since that was the case I might look upon the money as gone. As he was obliged to settle his account with the bankers on that day, I could not, without exposing him, or creating suspicion, avoid paying it down again. This immorality is so much the more blameable, because to encourage the lower classes to give their mite to our struggle for liberty, the sums subscribed were purposely small. You may relate this circumstance to Petion, assuring him at the same time, that from what I have seen of these patriots, the riches of France, England, nay, of all Europe, will not be sufficient to gratify

tify their avidity. When I say *these patriots*, I mean the Scotch and Irish as well as the English. Although they disagree on account of national prejudices, in the chapter of rapacity they are truly brothers. Beaumarchais, who has known the patriots of these islands ever since the American war, makes the same complaints. He thinks their love of money more innate than their love of freedom, or rather that they are attached to the latter, only because without it they could not satisfy their longing of the former, either in financial, commercial, or political speculations.

" From your repeated assertions, that this nation is thought the most generous in Europe, having more public establishments to relieve suffering humanity than are found in all other states together, and the only one where real industry and modest merit make their sure way to affluence and advancement, I suppose your ideas of Great Britain either romantic, or that you have swallowed a good dose of the fashionable Anglomania. If no people are more generous, no other people have so many newspapers to make the world acquainted with their generosity, none have more taverns, where the stupid or indolent rich man may pass away some heavy hours of his dull existence, figuring as a benefactor at the expence of a few guineas, and gratifying at the same time his ostentation and vanity, his desire of company, or his passion for conviviality. The industrious man, it is true, may claim assistance from some societies, encouraging and rewarding his labour and assiduity, but only in the same manner as other societies encourage informers to detect frauds, to prevent swindling, or to pursue housebreakers. As to the advancement of modest merit, here as well as every where else, if supported by protectors it may rise; but if too honest to intrigue, or too timid to demand; too elevated to descend to cringing, or too proud to stoop to flattery; too loyal to serve the views of parties, and too patriotic to become the tool of ministers, it will pass a life of expectations, of disappointments, of distress, and of obscurity. Neither my numerous occupations, nor my short residence here, has hitherto enabled me to draw conclusions from my own observations on this subject, I speak therefore merely from what I have read.

But every body may be convinced in perusing the lives of English authors, poets, and other men of genius and eminence, that no where has merit been less rewarded, or had more to suffer from neglect, contempt, and poverty. Of those whose works, in doing honour to their country, have instructed or delighted their contemporaries, many have finished their painful career of *glory* in hospitals or jails; some have been starved to death; others, more impatient, or preferring a shorter exit, have resorted to poison, or to a halter, to pistols, or to daggers. Do not believe, though I detest this nation, that I am exaggerating. When you come here I shall put books into your hands, where you may read the lives of these men. I will afterwards accompany you to Westminster Abbey, where you may admire their epitaphs, and contemplate their monuments. Epitaphs! monuments! you exclaim, what a contradiction! Yes, the very same ungenerous and unfeeling vanity that shortened the existence of these men of merit, paid the sculptor for recording their worth, in hopes of preserving their own worthless names from a total oblivion, for they always take care to have engraved by whom these monuments of tardy national gratitude were erected. Ignorance, illiberality, or arrogance, may therefore here, if provided with wealth, purchase at no very dear rate, a share of the immortality due to meritorious characters, who had deserved so well of their country, but to whom their countrymen, as well as their country, had refused a morsel of bread, or the common wages bestowed on the mechanic and day labourer. Suspecting you to have more curiosity to see England, than disgust at residing in France, I have entered into all these particulars, in expectation that my complaisance will diminish, if not remove, your anti-patriotic prejudices in favour of this country.—Write to me when the day of your departure from Paris is fixed *."

On the 30th of September the Countess of F——hault, accompanied by her son, arrived in England with a pass of the municipality of Paris as Madame Cabanis. It was fortunate for her, that she disregarded both the opinion of her husband, and the representations of her lover. Not-

---

* La Correspondence d'Infames Emigrés &c. tom. iv. p. 184. & seq.

withstanding what the latter said to the contrary, she would otherwise, in a few months, have ascended the same scaffold with the former.

Having so lately left France, and being provided with so many active and *initiated* correspondents every where, Talleyrand could not plead ignorance of the real situation of affairs in that country. In his letter of the 21st of July, the day he landed at Dover, he declared in positive terms his intention, let the consequences be what they might, not to return during the then unsettled state of parties. His arguments to persuade his mistress to continue at Paris, his last letter evidently proves, were neither disinterested nor liberal. A surmise subsists also, that he was actuated by other motives, too improbable and too shocking to be imputed to any man who had not, like Talleyrand, long renounced all virtuous and honourable sentiments, who, to accomplish his ambitious designs, or to indulge his vicious propensities, had from his youth respected nothing either sacred or respectable. He is stated to have just then formed an acquaintance with a young emigrant lady in London, who, to acquired accomplishments, and natural beauty, united some wealth, and had the prospect of possessing still more. If the revolutionary assassins at Paris had therefore dispatched a lady, whom he employed rather as an agent, than loved as a mistress, who, when in London could be of little service in his political plots, who might impede his new intrigue, and perhaps one day proffer some claims to his purse, they would have served, instead of distressed him *.

Some few days after it was known here, that Dumourier had successfully intimidated the late king of Prussia from undertaking any farther offensive operations in Champagne, Talleyrand sent Le Brune, the minister for the foreign department in the executive council, a confidential letter too interesting not to deserve the serious perusal and consideration of all true Britons. It evinces the same design to surprise and overcome this country by an invasion before the last war commenced, as since the last peace of Amiens was concluded. Considering the unprepared and secure state in which we then were, the numerous

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 102. and Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire, p. 45.

revolutionary incendiaries that disseminated anarchical and subversive principles every where, the tumultuous behaviour and discontent of the lower classes, and the agitation which Great Britain shared with all other nations of Europe; it was fortunate, indeed, that the insidious and treacherous counsels of Talleyrand had not the same influence in the determinations of the national convention as in those of Buonaparte. This confidential letter is dated London, October 10th, 1792.

"Citizen Minister,

"Permit me to request the favour of you to communicate to the other members of the executive council, some remarks concerning the real and relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland. I am well aware that many of them have not escaped your wisdom and penetration or theirs; but knowing also the numerous and various occupations which must divert and divide your attentions; and being upon the spot, I think it my duty to enter into some details, though my capacity is far from being equal to my patriotism and zeal to serve the cause of liberty and equality.

"That in the British nation the far greater part of the inhabitants call loudly for a reform, and desire a revolution, which may establish a commonwealth, is undeniable; but the British patriots possess neither our activity, our disinterestedness, nor our energy, philosophy, or elevated views; and they have not yet been able to acquire for a support and rallying point, *the majority in the legislature*. They may, however, and they certainly do intend to resort to arms in supporting their petitions for reform, and their attempt to recover their lost liberties. But as long as the strength and resources of the present government continue unimpaired, they may distress it, and even shake it, but I fear, without aid from France, they will be unable to change, or to crush it. The ministers even expect to be reinforced with the interest and talents of all those violent alarmists, terrified or seduced by the eloquent sophistry of the fanatic E. Burke, who will add additional weight to the scale of the English aristocracy.

"Every thing indicates, that the king of England will not long continue his present system of neutrality. All the colonels have lately received orders to hasten the completement of their regiments. Several more ships have just been put into commission. A report is prevalent of the militia being directly called out. Societies against *republicans* and *levellers* are talked of as encouraged by government, and the ministerial papers are instructed to hold a language insulting to the French republic, and hostile to our present government. I have also obtained intelligence from a most authentic source, that immediately after the arrival here of a courier from Lord Elgin at Brussels, with the information of the Duke of Brunswick's retreat from Champagne, fast sailing cutters were sent to the East and West Indies with instructions for their respective governors to prepare for hostilities, and in the mean time to intrigue with the disaffected in our colonial possessions for their surrender to Great Britain, the instant of a rupture being announced.

"Is it besides probable, that England will remain neutral, without interference, should the efforts and valour of our armies be crowned with success? Or if, encountering defeats, will she not take advantage of our disasters, by dividing our spoils with our foes? We have it this moment in our power to command, not only the neutrality of Great Britain and Ireland, but if it be thought politic, to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the English, Scotch, and Irish commonwealths, established by our arms, and therefore naturally connected with the French republic by the strongest of all ties—a common interest, a common danger, or a common safety.

"According to the inclosed extracts of the last returns sent to the war office, the regular troops in England do not amount to 20,000 men complete. Of these 8000 are in or near London, 1500 at Portsmouth, 1800 at Plymouth, 1100 at Dover, 900 at Chatham, 1800 at Sheerness, Tilbury Fort, and other places on the banks of the Thames. The remainder are quartered either in some manufacturing towns, where insurrections are apprehended, or in the several seaports, so dispersed that in no part do 1000 men garrison the same place.

"By the last official return from the executive committee, you see that England alone contains 166,000 registered patriots, of whom 33,600 may be provided with fire-arms from our depôts, and the remainder in four days armed with pikes. Our travelling agents assure us, that besides these, as many more, are ready to declare themselves in our favour, were we once landed, and able to support them effectually.

"In Scotland there are no more than 9500 regular troops, of whom 5000 garrison Edinburgh, where government apprehend an insurrection during an approaching fair in the latter part of this month; 2200 men are quartered at or near Glasgow, and the rest form the garrisons in some small forts or seaports. In the same country the last official return makes the patriots amount to 44,200 registered, and double that number, who, from different motives, have not yet dared to declare themselves.

"In Ireland the regular troops amount to 10,400 men, and the registered patriots to 131,500, who expect to be joined by almost every Roman Catholic in the island, should any thing be undertaken by us for their deliverance from their present oppressive yoke.

"All these encouraging circumstances duly considered, my humble proposal is that our fleet at Toulon, now nearly ready for sea on an expedition in the Mediterranean, after taking on board 20 or 25,000 men, and arms for 100,000 more, change its destination, pass the strait of Gibraltar, and land in Ireland as an ally of the numerous oppressed patriots in that country. These forces are at present more than sufficient to deprive Great Britain for ever of that important island, or at least to enable us to keep it as a depôt during the war, and a security for her neutrality, in case our attempts to revolutionize her should not meet with an equal success.

" I am, however, not too sanguine in my expressions or expectations when I assert, that at this period, even in England and Scotland, we shall meet with less resistance, and fewer obstacles than many may suppose, if we are only discreet, prudent, and above all, *expeditious*.

" At three times, in forty-eight hours, we may, without opposition, land 50 or 60,000 men in twenty or thirty different points, under the names of emigrants, and seize on the principal dock-yards, arsenals, and naval stations. With the assistance of our numerous secret adherents we may even occupy London itself, and *what is* *certain, and may be depended upon*, our landing will be the signal for a general revolt. The government, terrified by invaders from abroad, and harassed by insurgents in the bosom of the country, without confidence in its troops, or reliance on the fidelity of the people, would never, with its trifling forces, be able, at the same time to repel an enemy, and quash rebellion.

"Once masters of the principal sea-ports, with the British navy in our power, we may easily obtain from France what succours we judge necessary. As proclamations in the name of the sovereign people in France, as an ally of the sovereign people in Great Britain and Ireland will precede our marches, after being dispersed at our landing, I cannot be mistaken in my hope of a revolution being effected now in this country much quicker than in 1688. Nay, I am positive that not so many weeks will be required to change this monarchy into a republic, as it has required years since the revolution to produce the same change in France. Even in those regiments on which government most depends, disaffection has crept in. In the guards some officers of rank have already openly avowed their attachment to our cause, and among the men a fermentation has been created, that must be useful to our views.

“ Great Britain has at this time no other continental allies than Prussia and Holland. From the spirit and patriotism of our troops, and from the abilities of our generals, the bondage of the latter country must soon cease, and its resources, with those we already command, will enable us to prevent the king of Prussia, and all other despots, from assisting the king of England.

“ Should, citizen minister, this plan obtain the approbation of the executive council, no time is to be lost in carrying it into execution, and in informing me of its determination, that the patriots here may be prepared to rise at a moment's warning, and unite with us in our glorious undertaking of delivering the world from the double tyranny of religion and monarchy.

“ But, if unfortunately any unforeseen, or to me unknown reasons or impediments prevail, to prevent it from being carried into effect, pardon me when I fear that centuries will elapse before another such opportunity offers to France to seize on Ireland, to invade England and

Scotland, and with their riches and power maintain an undisturbed sway over the universe, in proclaiming an universal republic.

"Health and fraternity,

(Signed) "CH. M. TALLEYRAND *."

Thus this unprincipled man, now Buonaparte's confidential counsellor, advised, and even intreated the invasion of this country, during the period of a most profound peace; notwithstanding, that our government, with its usual liberal policy, disregarding the daily provocations of French revolutionists, had just then, by filling their granaries saved them from starving, and by permitting our manufactories to supply their arsenals with arms, enabled them to resist and repulse the combined forces of Austria, Prussia, and the emigrants! The treacherous olive branch of peace held out by revolutionary Frenchmen, is more to be dreaded by all loyal Britons than their armed bandittis encamped *quietly* opposite our shores, and their armed flotillas flying along their own coast. It is a cruel truth, that "as long as France is tyrannized by revolutionary usurpers, the only and exclusive safety of the British empire is in war."

---

* See Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, Neufchatel, 1801, p. 124, et seq. and La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 104. et seq. The author of the last publication states, that it was with the permission of Collot d'Herbois that he copied this confidential letter in the archives of the committee of public safety. It is mentioned in the act of accusation against the Brissot faction, October 1793.

This confidential letter, according to Talleyrand's desire, was laid before the executive council, by Le Brune. After long discussion, it was communicated to the diplomatic and military committees, together with the opinions of each minister. Thomas Paine and other English patriots, then at Paris, were consulted by the members of the committees, but "but were against all foreign succours, to establish liberty and equality in Great Britain and Ireland; the native friends of freedom being very numerous there, and more than sufficiently strong of themselves to erect a republic on the ruins of monarchy." Carnot, then a member of the military committee, warmly recommended the adoption of Talleyrand's proposal, and even drew a plan for the intended invasion of these islands. He was, however, over-ruled by the majority, upon a declaration of the diplomatic committee, that it was so certain of a revolution in this country within six months, that it was then negociating an offensive and defensive treaty with the leading patriots of England, Scotland, and Ireland. In 1794, when Thomas Paine, from a worthy representative of the French people, became a prisoner, with all other British subjects in France, his sentiments, on this occasion, were made the grounds of an accusation, prepared against this infamous traitor, as high treason against the cause of liberty and equality, *which the gold of Pitt had bribed him to desert* *. Had Robespierre reigned some few weeks longer, regicide Frenchmen would have punished this out-lawed rebel, for his treason against England.

In another letter to Le Brune, of the 15th of November, "Talleyrand *deplores* that this his proposal had not been accepted. He suspects some of the English patriots of infidelity, and others of being luke-warm or terrified, as the English government had caught the alarm, and were preparing extensive *defensive* measures against the friends of liberty. He declines the offer of being accredited abroad as a public diplomatic agent of the French commonwealth, being convinced *that he could be of more service was his name upon the list of proscribed emigrants*, than was it to appear officially as employed and trusted by the government of his country. No where can he be of greater utility than in Great Britain, but then he must reside there as an emigrant, and as a person disaffected and disgraced, who neither can nor will return to France during a republic. He desires, therefore, that a decree of banishment may, under some pretext or other, be pronounced against him by the national convention. He finishes with declaring, that if the English patriots continued their present inactivity for a month to come, all their future efforts will be vain, the aristocrats of rank as well as of property beginning to rally, with cordiality, round the throne *." In the following month, according to Talleyrand's desire, an act of accusation was decreed against him by the national convention, and his name was placed amongst those of the loyal emigrants. The discovery of this intrigue explains the reasons, both of his past equivocal conduct and of his present elevation *.

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 112.

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 114. and Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, &c. p. 136.

The female emigrant, already mentioned, with whom Talleyrand had formed an intrigue, that augmented his chagrin on the arrival of the Countess of F——hault in this country, was no other than his present wife, then residing here as Madame Grand. Relative to that lady, Lieutenant Nath. Belchier, of the royal navy, has favoured the author with the following interesting circumstances, inserted here in the very words of this gallant and loyal officer:

" In August 1792, after the massacre of the 10th, Madame Grand made her escape from France, after seeing her porter, a Swiss, murdered under her windows. In her flight she left every thing to the mercy of the republicans, and landed at Dover, with her maid, a few changes of linen, and not more than a dozen louis d'ors in her pocket. It was in this place I became acquainted with the lady and her misfortunes, of knowing the national seal had been fixed on her property,

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 139. and Cassandre ou quelques Reflections sur la Revolution Francaise, &c. par Auguste Danieau, p. 189. note a.

property, and placed at the disposal of the nation.

" Madame Grand had been married to a Mr. Grand, an Englishman, in the East Indies, but from some serious disagreement had parted, without a divorce. It was, therefore, thought possible that her claims, as a British subject, might be attended to, and the seals taken off. On this errand a Mr. O'Dwyer, and myself, set off for Paris, invested with full powers, by Madame Grand, at a time when strangers of every nation were leaving it as fast as possible. Luckily for the object of our mission, the name of an Englishman was then a passport of protection through France, and my then situation in the English navy, though but that of a midshipman, I believe, was of service. However, after some trouble, the seals were removed from her house, *Rue de Mirabeau, Section de Mirabeau* *, from her cabinet, escritoire, &c. &c. and we were desired to inform her, that she might return without being called to account for her flight. This was not enough; it was not the intention of Madame Grand to return, but to get as many of her effects into England as possible, to remain there until affairs might take a turn in her favour; we, therefore, resolved, at any risk, and in the face of a decree, denouncing, under penalty of death, any person found transporting the current coin or plate out of the republic, above the value of 100 livres (4l.) to save for her the whole of her portable property. On the 19th of September, about seven o'clock, we left Paris, with her plate, mostly gold, valued at 80,000 livres (3,300l.); jewels, at 300,000 livres (12,500l.), besides 2,100 louis d'ors (2,100l.) secured in belts about our persons; and actions or demands on the Caisse d'Escompte for 200,000 livres (8,000l.) more, which I should suppose were of but little use. After much trouble, and constant danger of being discovered, we arrived on the 25th, with the whole, at Dover, and delivered to Madame Grand the wreck of her fortunes, refusing every pecuniary recompence whatever, she paying our expences only, which amounted to about 60l. I can lay my hand on my heart, and say, that the part of this business, I undertook, was from no other motive than that of rescuing a beautiful suffering royalist from distress, and though, at that time, not possest of 10l. in the world, rejected every offer of reward, thinking, I had a sufficient one in the contemplation of what I had done. I was then about twenty-one years of age.

---

* This street and section was called so after Mirabeau, who died there. It has since had other names, after other popular revolutionary brigands, but it is now named *Rué de Mont Blanc, Section de Mont Blanc*, in commemoration of the seizure of Savoy *in time of peace.*

" Madame Grand honoured us with two other commissions equally dangerous. The first was to call on Madame Champion, then living concealed in Boulogne, at a hair-dresser's, *Rue de Capucin*, to inquire if she had any commands for Paris. This lady gave us letters for her husband, the ex-minister, then outlawed by the convention, and a price set upon his head. We visited him in his hiding place, and received papers from him for Madame Champion. Though utter strangers, I am proud to say, he seemed conscious we would not betray him; it was enough that *we were Englishmen*. The second, which we had likewise the good fortune to accomplish, was to assist the escape of Madame Grand's friend, Madame Villmain, from Abbeville. We disguised her in sailor's cloaths, and conducted her safe to England;

land; but, I am sorry to say, this lady soon after returned to France, in hopes of sending from thence assistance to her friends at Coblentz, but was detected, and guillotined."

In the summer 1798, the author was released from prison in France, where he had gone to claim his property, which had been sequestred since the war. He was then often invited by Madame Grand to her villa near Montmorency, twelve miles from Paris. Here he met Talleyrand and most of the foreign ambassadors to the late court of Luxembourg, and as a curious coincidence, intending to go to England, was asked by this lady, who had procured him a pass from a neutral minister, to bring over with him, on his return back to France, these very jewels and other valuables that Lieutenant Belchier had, with so much risk and disinterestedness, saved in 1792, but which were then deposited in the bank of England. His voyage was prevented by a new imprisonment, and, of course, he could not oblige Madame Grand, who frequently declared, "that the débauché, Talleyrand, was the last person upon earth she should like for a husband."

While Talleyrand was thus intriguing with women in England and plotting with rebels in France, his sovereign and benefactor, Louis XVI, after enduring accumulated horrors in the dungeons of the Temple, was, after a mock trial, barbarously sent to the scaffold by the regicides of the national convention. Such was the end of the best and most virtuous king that ever reigned over the depraved French people. His character has been justly descanted on, in the most glowing colours, by his affectionate subjects, and no part of their eulogies is deficient of foundation. Even most of his enemies, in the midst of a studied system of calumny, have been obliged to acknowledge his virtues. His whole conduct proves that he had no fear for himself, his only terrors arose from the probability of shedding the blood of his subjects in civil war. His constancy and resignation from the time his trial commenced till the moment which terminated his existence, forms a picture of excellence almost surpassing humanity, and demonstrates the trascendent benefits of that religious purity, which takes the sense of shame from premeditated ignominy, which deprives cruelty of its venom, and death of its sting.

On the 23d of January, 1793, the murder of the king of France was known in London, and Talleyrand, with all other loyal men, put on mourning, and pretended to shed crocodile's tears. How sincere his affliction was, the letter he wrote to Le Brune on the same day, at six o'clock in the evening, shews. "The death of Capet," says he, "has overwhelmed George with terror, his ministers with fear, and the aristocrats with consternation, whilst the patriots rejoice that the world is plagued with one tyrant less. According to your desire, citizen minister, I shall cause to be inserted in the Argus and in the Courier those articles which you sent me; and my agents are already ordered to disseminate, that the tyrant's artificial firmness in his last moments, was the consequence of hope being held out to him of being reapited on the scaffold, or that the people would not suffer his execution. A grand council of state is convoked for to-morrow, and I am informed, that the question of peace or war will then be decided. I am glad that you approve of Chauvelin's official correspondence. If we can only cause the British government to be regarded as aggressors, we have left a door open for the opposition to perplex ministers with their attacks and reproaches, and for the patriots to keep up the spirit of dissaffection and mutiny among the people, and even to increase it on account of the new burdens which new expences must require. It was, however, fortunate for us that we have been able to embroil the cards so far, that it will be a difficult task even for the most profound and able statesman to find out, on what part of the laws of nations these acts were considered as equivalent to a declaration of war. I was more than once afraid that, in answer to our protest against the alien bill, ministers would have said that such a bill existed *de facto* in France these last four years, as, since the revolution, no British subject was safe in travelling in France, was he not provided with a pass contrary to the treaty of commerce of 1786; fortunately they either did not know, or forgot this circumstance *.

---

* That this article of the commercial treaty was violated as early as in July 1789 the author can prove by a pass for himself and five servants, who, with him, were British subjects. It is signed by La Fayette, as governor of Paris, and by De la Salle, the second in command, and dated July 21. Intending to visit an estate in the south of France, La Fayette advised him not to set out without this patent

"Thanks to the decree against me, I am now well received every where, even among those who lately would hardly speak to me. With all *other defenders and avengers of the throne and altar*, I intend to put on mourning, to pray, to sigh, and even to weep with them, should it be necessary and possible. This pantomime my enemies in France, who are not in our secrets, will, no doubt, regard as a real and natural performance. I trust, therefore, to your friendship and patriotism, to explain to the members of the executive council and of the committees, my behaviour, in a manner that I may not fall a victim to my endeavours to serve the friends of liberty and equality. Was Chauvelin forced to quit this country, depend upon it, my zeal and patriotism shall always remain the same and uninterrupted. As, however, he is rather indiscreet, I should wish, citizen minister, that you would seriously inform him of the conse-

---

patent of French liberty, which he was obliged to exhibit no less than eighty-four times between Paris and Avignon. In descending the river Soane, from Chalons to Lyons, he saw fourteen chateaux in flames, one of them belonging to Count de Perigord, Talleyrand's uncle; and on its banks the patriotic incendiaries were, with *sang froid*, dividing the plate and other spoils. Several English families were detained in Burgundy and Dauphiny for want of passes.

quences, and if you mistrust him, even cause him to be shut up in solitary confinement, at least as long as I am to reside in this country. I continue always in the same opinion: without any signal defeat of their countrymen, the patriots here will have a better chance of succeeding during a peace, than during a war. Should, therefore, the latter be at present inevitable, let us make it as short as possible.

" This letter is private and confidential, from a friend to his friend, not from a secret agent to a minister in place. Have, therefore, the goodness to destroy it after its perusal.

" Health and fraternity,

(Signed) " CH. M. TALLEYRAND."

" P. S. Late last night we received some intelligence, which made us detain the messenger for twenty-four hours. You will now see by Chauvelin's official dispatch, that he is ordered to depart from England before the 1st of next month. This decisive step evinces, that the English cabinet is determined upon war, and that ministers are acquainted with the danger of a longer peace. May we not still contrive some means to prevent hostilities, and at least to gain time? Command me at all times, and on all occasions.

London, January 24, 1793.

(Signed). "CH. M. T *."

The gloom and consternation which overspread Paris on the perpetration of the greatest of national crimes, was increased by the shutting of the barriers, and a domicilliary visit so rigorously executed, that six thousand persons were reported to have been arrested as emigrants. The people saw themselves about to plunge into a general and unfounded war with all Europe, while no adequate pretence of injury, or promise of advantage was held out to them as a motive. Great efforts were made to render Brissot and the war faction popular, yet the other party did not venture to exhibit a promise of peace, but, on the contrary, seemed inclined to cover France with blood, and the rest of Europe with ruin. The inhabitants could not but feel, that their ease and property were sacrificed by individuals whom they did not respect, to schemes which they did not comprehend, and which did not promise either success or advan-

---

[*] See Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, &c. p. 143 et seq. and La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 124 et seq.

tage. Yet the citizens at Paris were quiet, and exhibited the stupefaction of extreme terror, not daring even to express grief at the crimes that defaced their country, overawed by a few bold brigands, who insulted, enchained, and robbed them, while they boasted of restoring freedom, and taught the people, from whom every other exclamation would have been treason, to shout in praise of liberty and equality, amidst beggary, famine, jails, and scaffolds. War without was eagerly sought; anarchy and rebellion raised their heads in the departments, and in the convention, opposition was conducted with the avowed design of bringing the vanquished party to an ignominious death.

In the recent conquest of Austrian Flanders and Belgium by Dumourier, the neutral governments of Europe could discern no cause of hostility. The incursion was not even sufficiently alarming to forbid an expectation, that the emperor would be able in another campaign to recover the territory so suddenly wrested from him; but the proceeding of France towards the conquered people excited sensations widely different. To possess a country in a military manner was usual, and could occasion no complaint; but the novelty of pretending, in right of conquest, to emancipate the sworn subjects of a throne from their oath of allegiance, to change their political relation by conferring on them new rights, of which they could not be deprived even in the event of their being re-conquered. These were innovations in the received customs of warfare, and contrary to the laws of nations, that gave alarm, and rendered governments, who were not disposed to hostility, jealous, and terrified lest the system of unprovoked aggression should be extended to them, and the new project of calling on subjects to revolt, and change their form of government, under the protection of French arms, put in practice to their destruction. Great Britain had from the beginning of the revolution kept cautiously aloof from every connection which could engender suspicion, or create a probability of a war with France; and, at the time of Lord Gower's quitting Paris, the unequivocal declaration of the minister Le Brune, in the name of the executive council, proved the equity of her conduct. That of the French, on the contrary, had in many small points been replete with circumstances of offence, which a jealous nation or captious administration might have inflamed into causes of war; but the British government, instead of strengthening the means of hostility, disbanded part of its forces both by sea and land, and reduced the taxes. The king, in compliance with the wishes of the French government, forbade all his officers from entering into the service of the allies, and used every other exertion consistent with his dignity, to evince his good faith in the maintenance of neutrality. Did any previous doubt exist, Talleyrand's correspondence has removed it, in evincing clearly that the English government was, notwithstanding, beset with the very arts and means which had been employed to overthrow the throne of France. Clubs were formed with executive and corresponding committees, professedly for legal, but indisputably for revolutionary purposes; emissaries in French pay were travelling round the country propagating anarchical principles; seditious publications were disseminated with art and activity; and it was found necessary on the 21st of May 1792, to issue a proclamation for restraining these attempts against our constitution.

While the predominating party in France could not but perceive the solicitude of the British government on this subject; and while the most violent of their revolutionary rulers acknowledged the upright conduct of the British administration, every encouragement and pecuniary succours were afforded to those, whose principles and behaviour were hostile to the cabinet of St. James's. Every deputation recommended or paid by Talleyrand, or breathing sentiments destructive of the British constitution was hailed with triumph, and complimented as the *sound* part of the nation; while British subjects, noted only for their hatred and treachery to their native government, were sought out and acknowledged as French citizens, and selected as the fittest to occupy places in the national convention. So active was the impulse given by these, and other more clandestine, though no less effectual encouragements to seditions in all parts of the British empire, that the king was under the necessity to convoke parliament at an earlier period than he had originally intended, to call out the militia, and adopt other measures for the internal defence of the kingdom. The decree of the 19th November 1792, holding out the protecting hand of France to insurgents of all nations, and the application of it ostentatiously made to Great Britain, by the favourable reception of deputations of English rebels negociating for French fraternity, indicated, with indisputable precision, the inimical views and treacherous plots of all parties in France against our country. To these numerous acts of indirect hostility against Great Britain were added, direct attacks on her ally. When Dumourier had completed the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, the national convention decreed the invasion of that part of Flanders belonging to the neutral states of Holland, and the prosecution of a war against that unoffending country was one of the ostensible views of this general's late visit to Paris. As the politics of the Dutch were divided between the contending influences of an English and French party, strenuous remonstrances were necessary from the British ambassador to excite a spirit of resistance against

French aggression, favourable to the liberty of both countries, and consistent with ancient as well as recent treaties. Meanwhile active proceedings were adapted in the convention, and in the French clubs, to inflame the public mind against Great Britain. Haughty inquiries were made respecting the political tendency of acts passed by the British parliament, for enabling the government to insure its tranquillity by dismissing suspicious foreigners from its shores, and to restrain the devices for involving its commercial credit with that of France, by prohibiting the circulation of assignats. The hostile intentions of France could no longer be denied by any true Briton, nor could the cabinet of St. James's mistake the source of those internal agitations, which were instigated and kept up in many parts, and threatened the welfare of the state. The most respectable persons in the metropolis expressed to government both their fears and their devotion to the cause of the country, and at length, our patient endurance being exhausted, Chauvelin, the unaccredited representative of French regicides, was ordered to quit the kingdom. The national convention did not, however,

ever, await the intelligence of this event before they carried their hostile intentions into effect. In this single subject both parties in this assembly cordially joined, and on the 1st of February a long and calumnious report by Brissot was followed by an unanimous decree, that the *French republic* was at war with the *king* of England, and the *stadtholder* of the United Provinces. Consistently with the insidious form of this declaration, and according to Talleyrand's advice, in order to afford the factious in each country a pretext to believe, that the people were precipitated into a war against their interests, and merely to gratify the ambition of their rulers, a mockery of negociation was practised by sending emissaries and intriguers to England, who demanded to be received as agents of the French government, though furnished with no authentic credentials, nor invested with any efficient power.

On the 29th of January 1793, Talleyrand wrote again to Le Brune:—"This, citizen minister, will in all probability be the last letter you can receive from me in a direct way, as I am informed by one of our agents, that notwithstanding my mourning, the English ministers both watch and suspect me. In the privy council, which determined the order for Chauvelin's leaving this country, it was discussed whether this order was not to extend even to me, as moved by the privy councillors of the alarmists' party, who continue the fanatical and irreconcilable foes of all French patriots. Fortunately Pitt and Grenville declared for an adjournment, on account of my *proscription* in France, and from being informed by several respectable emigrants, 'that I *sincerely repented* of the part I had taken in the revolution.' Yet, my situation is critical, and you cannot be too careful in writing to me; I do not think it safe, as you propose, to trust any longer to the Countess of F——hault, nor to wish you to go on with our correspondence under her cover, she being at this moment jealous of some other connections I have formed, and the British government cannot be unacquainted with our mutual attachment at Paris. I shall always write to you under the name you mention, to the care of the house of Maetzlars at Frankfort, or to Madame La Roche * in Switzerland.

---

* In Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, &c. p. 152, is stated, that this lady's real name was Rochechouart.

Switzerland: You may at least once in the month send me your orders addressed to Madame Grand, whose friendship I possess, and who is too stupid (*trop bête*) to suspect any thing. Besides this, and the four addresses Chauvelin and I have agreed to, and which he will communicate to you, you may direct letters to Thomas Smith, Esq. Cannon Coffee-house, Jermyn-street, or to Signor Sellini, Orange Coffee-house, Haymarket.

" I have now changed all the houses and places of rendezvous, where I hitherto saw the English patriots, and heard the reports of my agents: among the former I continue to see and correspond only with three, their principal leaders; one for England, one for Scotland, and one for Ireland; of the latter, Audibert and several others have, since the alien bill, already been ordered out of this country, and I employ now no more than five, of whom three are natives, besides the Prussian counsellor of legation *, who is sincerely a friend of France, and enemy of Great Britain. Reduced as you find the establishment, yet the expences are increased, being obliged to take so many precautions, to pay largely, and at an higher rate than before; having also, to avoid suspicion, taken a house at Kensington, where expences are higher than in London, but where, at the same time, my actions may, *as I desire*, be more *easily* inspected by the spies set about me. These are the principal causes of the great credit I have asked for on bankers at Hamburgh, Franckfort, and Basle; but, citizen minister, you may rest assured that the strictest economy shall, on my part, be observed with the money of the nation, and nothing be squandered away unnecessarily. Beaumarchais has refused me any farther advances until his accounts are settled by the executive council, having, as he says, laid out in purchase of arms for the patriots and our troops 600,000 livres, 25,000l. more than he had credit for, and on which account he is much distressed by his creditors here; he writes to the minister of the war department on this same occasion.

---

* Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, &c. p. 160. This Prussian counsellor's name is Theremin. After being a spy here during the war, when peace was signed between Prussia and France, he went to Paris, and wrote a libel against this country, for which he was made a French citizen. The directory employed him to embroil the states of Wirtemberg with their prince; and Buonaparte made him, in 1799, a prefect.

"The zeal, though not the number of patriots here, increases, and almost every day the press evinces their activity. They suppose still that they may produce a revolution without foreign assistance, but they are also convinced of their error in not pressing last October the acceptance of the plan, I then had the honour of presenting to you. As I suggested, they have now agreed to unite the cry for peace with that of liberty, and to inspire every where, and by all means in their power, a wish to see an end of this unnatural war. In this they are ably supported by some members of the opposition, who, perhaps from different motives, try to make the war unpopular in hopes of turning out the ministers, and of succeeding them. The spirit among the troops is not quite so favourable to our designs as three months ago, but some severe defeats will soon change it, although the removal of several patriotic officers has certainly hurt the cause of liberty in the army *."

Talleyrand continued to correspond with Le Brune, and to inform him of the success of his intrigues and plots in this country, until this minister shared the disgrace of the other members of the Brissot faction. The credit on several

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 136 et seq.

foreign houses was then withdrawn, and the committee of public safety considered him in no other light than as an emigrant. His correspondence with the countess of F—hault was then published, and even his official or confidential letters to Le Brune were shown in the national convention, and were permitted to be copied by several persons, who have since printed them. This impolitic behaviour of the members of the committee, originated from the enmity of one of them, Collot D'Herbois (formerly a strolling player), who suspected Talleyrand of having prevented Louis XVI. from appointing him a minister of justice in 1791, a place for which he was then insolently a candidate *. That our government had no knowledge of Talleyrand's perfidy, is judged from their permitting him still to reside here. The accusations and denunciations of the French jacobins against pretended agents of Pitt at Paris, were therefore either false, or the British ministry were not faithfully served by them. The female intriguer, Madame La Roche, who was then at Lausanne, obtained, however, regu-

---

* See La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, p. 143. and Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, &c. p. 166.

larly from him some *gratuitous* intelligence, which she communicated to Carnot, who afterwards favoured his return to France, and his promotion by the Directory. Even when in 1794, he was sent away from England, and went to America, he did not cease writing to her. Among other papers, procured by him, that accompanied his petition to be struck out of the list of emigrants, was a certificate of *civism*, signed by this woman *.

When Talleyrand heard of the arrest of Le Brune, he immediately employed, out of the secret service money, a sum sufficient to purchase at Amsterdam, American stock to the amount of 150,000 dollars. Fearing that the jealousy, hatred and mistrust of the victorious faction, would get the better of their policy, he took care to rob the plunderers in France, sufficiently to live independent in America, should any discovery force him from Great Britain †. Though possessing, besides this money, several large sums, deposited under different names in our funds, he used the Countess of F—hault with ingratitude, perfectly suitable to his selfish and cruel character. By the murder of her husband, this lady had lost all her property, and all hope of any assistance from France. Thus circumstanced, and having besides herself, *their* son to support, she justly addressed herself to him for some part of what was due to her, for former pecuniary sacrifices. With his usual artful hypocrisy, he wished to persuade her, that by unsuccessful speculations, and gambling in our funds, he was nearly ruined. Either from a thorough knowledge of his unfeeling heart, or from a real belief in his false assertion, she applied no more to him, but to her own talents, and wrote a novel, called *Adele de Senange*, which, by a generous subscription among the English nobility and gentry produced her five hundred guineas. When Talleyrand had sailed for America, she intended to reside, for œconomy, in Switzerland, and for that purpose, went over to Holland. In August, 1794, the compiler, just released from a French prison, met her by accident at Utrecht. There she related to him the above particulars, and that she had passed several weeks at Brille, where she had been recommended to the English agent. She spoke in great terms of the English nation, and of the delicacy which attended the generosity of the higher classes of this country, in their behaviour towards the emigrants. She repeated several anecdotes on this subject; among others, one which occurred during her stay at Brille. Being invited to dine one day at the English agent's, she found there, among other persons of distinction, Lord Elgin, and the Earl and Countess of Besborough. The agent, not the most refined in his sentiments, treated her, indeed, hospitably; but it was easy to observe, and she felt that he was acquainted with her penurious situation. This could not escape the penetrating eye and the noble mind of the amiable Lady Besborough, who, when sitting down to dinner, insisted upon the Countess of F—hault taking the place of honour, which had been marked for, and offered to her by the agent. This tender, but at the same time, expressive politeness, had the desired effect. From that day more regard was shown the unfortunate wanderer; so much the more consoling to her, as the progress of the French arms detained her longer in Holland than she first intended, and obliged her finally to retire to Altona, near Hamburgh, instead of continuing her journey to Switzerland. How easy is it for those, whose birth and affluence have never been insulted or injured by the savage hands of rebellion, to confer comfort on those, who have nothing left of their birth, but a rank they cannot support; or of their affluence, but a remembrance of property, they expect never more to possess! To truly honourable minds, not yet descended to a level with their circumstances, the delicate politeness of the Countess of Besborough, must be preferable to any pecuniary gift she had in her power to bestow. What money can relieve a heart pierced with the poisonous arrow of contempt, while suffering unmerited misery?

---

* See Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, &c. p. 169.

† Ibid. p. 143. in the note.

When Talleyrand was ordered to quit England, his first accomplices, La Fayette, the two brothers Lameths, and La Tour Maubourg, were confined at Olmutz in Bohemia, or at Spendow, in Prussia. In every part of Europe the constitutional rebels were as much detested by all loyal men, as the jacobin regicides. He had, therefore, no other alternative left than to cross the Atlantic. Some other of those traitors, who, in 1789, revolted against their king, had since, in the name of the sovereign people, been proscribed by the jacobins, and to save their lives, and preserve their ill-gotten wealth, had emigrated and settled themselves in the United States of America. He found there, in consequence, a number of his former associates, with whom he immediately entered into an association for *reforming* and *regenerating* that country, after the manner of France. Fortunately for the citizens of America, their presidents, at this period, were enlightened patriots, and not fanatical revolutionists; too independent to suffer themselves to be seduced by the stolen gold of French emissaries; too penetrating to be deluded by the sophistry of French intriguers; and too loyal to approve innovations, which, in bringing certain wretchedness on present generations, leave behind them no prospect of any advantage to posterity. Talleyrand and the other revolutionary propagators, were therefore warned to desist from their attempts, if they wished to avoid that punishment the law inflicted on conspirators. The overthrow of Robespierre, of which information then arrived, more than the admonitions of the government, made them cease their revolutionary manœuvres in America, to turn their thoughts and schemes again towards Europe *.

A treaty between England and America, at the period of Talleyrand's arrival, was negotiating. His former hatred against this country had almost increased to rage, by the late order he received to depart. He therefore employed all his political talents to retard its progress, and all his art and machiavelism to prevent a fortunate issue. He had frequent intercourse with Mr. Jefferson, and several other Americans, who occupied situations under government, or who were members of the two houses of the States; men, either attached to the French republic, from principle, or bought over by gold, or whose unnatural malevolence towards Great Britain was so illiberal and impolitic, as to prefer risking the ruin and destruction of the honour and prosperity of their country, by adopting the revolutionary policy of France, to its glory, advantage,

---

* La Faction d'Orleans demasquée, &c. p. 152. and Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, p. 175.

preservation, and safety, in concluding a treaty with England. As he announced and presented himself every where as the bosom friend of La Fayette, to whom many Americans believed themselves, in some measure, indebted for their independence, he succeeded in his intrigues against this empire to a much greater extent than could have been expected from a proscribed emigrant, and one who was despised throughout Europe. If he failed in his wishes, by the treaty being carried through, signed, and ratified, he created, however, great opposition in its different stages, and threatened, that whenever he should have any influence in the French councils, the Americans should repent of their imprudence and obstinacy, as he could prove, that this act was contrary to treaties already subsisting with France; a threat he took care some years afterwards to have carried into effect, by the seizure of American vessels and property to an immense amount *.

After the death of Robespierre, the surviving members of the constitutional and Orleans fac-

---

* See the publications quoted in the preceding note, the first, p. 156. and the second, p. 184.

tion, who mostly resided in or near Hamburgh, united their talents and machinations to change the French republic into a constitutional monarchy. They invited Talleyrand to join them in their labours, which he did the more willingly, as he disliked the Americans, as much as he detested the English. In July 1795, he landed on the Banks of the Elbe, where he found and was hailed by, the brothers Lameth, the Duke of Aiguillon, General Valence, Madame Genlis, and some other of his former accomplices. They instituted a revolutionary committee, having for its object to extend the horrors of the French rebellion, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the north of Europe, in a manner that when they returned to France, where they hoped to rule quickly, under a constitutional king of their own making, the convulsed state of other nations would prevent their tranquillity from being interrupted by domestic rivals and their usurped authority from being attacked by enemies from abroad. Talleyrand seemed sincerely to enter into all their views, and was entrusted by them to correspond with Barras, and other leading members of the national convention. He acted, however, with them, as he had already done with Louis XVI., Orleans, and Petion. He served them as long as he could serve himself by it, but deserted them the instant his connection with them was no longer profitable to his purse, or alluring to his ambition. On the 2d of Sept. a memorial was presented to the convention, in which he enumerates " his great achievements in the cause of liberty and equality, and demands, therefore, to have the decree of accusation against him cancelled, and his name struck off the list of emigrants, as both these acts took place in consequence of his *own desire*, to be so much the more useful in his secret mission in London." His petition was taken under consideration, and assented to on the 4th following; but he was the only member of the revolutionary committee of the north, to whom this assembly conceded such a favour *.

He was happy to see his former friend, the Countess of F—hault, who still resided at Altona; but she received him as he merited, with a silent coolness, which mortified his vanity and presumption, more than he would have been humiliated by deserved upbraiding, destitute as he was of all honourable sentiments. He pronounced severe complaints against the American ladies for their *want of taste*, having reduced him to the necessity of *fraternising* with strumpets in the streets, and to regard as a *bonne fortune*, the embraces of chambermaids of the taverns. Females of all other classes, he said, were prevented, either by religious bigotry or national prejudices from listening favourably to his gallant overtures; but from what he had heard of his more fortunate countrymen, he was no great loser by such a privation, as these *trans-Atlantic belles* treated their lovers no better than their husbands, and their husbands no better than their slaves *. But his wit was as much thrown away, as his caresses were rebutted. The Countess treated him no better than a disagreeable intruder, or a common visitor. Upon his inquiry after *their* son, she answered, in the presence of several persons, "Sir, you never had a wife! and a mistress becoming a mother by you, in loving her child, must abhor his father. When once really known, you can inspire no other sentiments than those of abhorrence."

---

* La Faction d'Orléans démasquée, &c. p. 160.

---

* Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, p. 190.

rence." With his usual presence of mind, he addressed himself to the company, "my friends," said he, "do not be alarmed; this is only a severe fit of jealousy, and these fits, you know, are neither killing to women, nor disagreeable to men *."

Among persons to whom he had been introduced, since his arrival in Germany, was the Baron de S—, married to a beautiful niece of the Prince de H—, who had sent her, in the beginning of the revolution, to France, to be educated there, under the inspection of Madame Genlis †. If her French education had not improved her notions of moral duties, her husband, by the lessons of German sophists, his instructors, had also imbibed principles as dangerous to society, as incompatible with the happiness of individuals.

---

* Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, p. 196. and Mon Sejour en Allemagne, Basle, 1800, p. 45.

† Madame Genlis has rather been unfortunate with her pupils. Every body at Paris knows the *pure* life of her daughter, Madame Valence; her niece de Sarcy, married to Mr. Mathieson, was divorced from him to marry her gallant; Mademoiselle de L., married to Marquis St. P. had three children during his emigration, and did Pamela make her husband happy? See the last quoted publication, p. 49. *note*.

Ambitious, but not interested motives, guided him, when he concluded this marriage. Possessing a princely fortune, his vanity was flattered in having to boast of a wife related to a prince of one of the first houses in Germany. Of this he informed his lady on their wedding day: and added, that as he desired not to be interrupted in his future connections with persons of her sex, so he left her at perfect liberty to choose the company of those gentlemen who were most agreeable to her inclinations. She was not quite eighteen when she heard such language from her husband, who the next day presented her, as a playfellow, a Prussian sub-lieutenant of her own age, the natural son of a nobleman in the vicinity. Thus circumstanced, if she fell the victim of seduction, she was previously the victim of imprudence, of neglect, and of indifference. Although her frailties are not to be commended, the conduct of her husband is unpardonable. Had he encouraged in her sentiments of virtue, she might have continued a life of chastity. His guilt is evident—hers, the moralist will deplore, and the christian pity, and forgive.

Her intrigue with this young officer was no secret; and when delivered of a daughter, she ingenuously told every body, that he was the father, even in the presence of her husband, who did not appear offended. Before she had the misfortune of Talleyrand's acquaintance, this was the sole instance of any improper connections, or scandalous irregularities of which she was accused. Her genius was as justly celebrated, as her beauty was admired; but her foible was to prefer the praise conferred on the eminence of the former, to the compliments bestowed on the perfection of the latter. This weak side was soon discovered by this veteran seducer, who took advantage of it, to his disgrace, but to her perdition. She had a select library, where he requested and obtained free admittance. He there wrote in her favourite book, Rousseau's Eloisa, some flattering verses, which she answered; and, as he expected, an amorous intrigue was the conclusion of a literary correspondence. Not content with gaining her affection, he determined to tyrannize over her inclinations; and what is most surprising, he met with success. Yes, a man of 41, ugly and deformed,

formed, had the art to compel an accomplished young lady of 21, to discard an handsome young officer, of her own age, who was her first, and for three years past, had been her only lover!

Not many weeks passed away before she repented of her sacrifices, and suffered for her inexperience. A relative of hers, some years older, of an amiable and irreproachable character, and married to a nobleman of an eminent station in that country, often saw Talleyrand at her house, but always with an undisguised aversion. He, in revenge, resolved to conquer, humiliate, and ruin this rebel female, who no sooner remarked his assiduities, than she seemed to soften into submission. Her intent was, however, only to expose the infamy of the intriguer, and to preserve her relative from his snares for the future. She assented, therefore, to a surrender, as soon as he could prove, that he had no other mistress. To effect this purpose he began to quarrel with his *bonne amie* about her former lover, of whom, though now excluded from all *tête-à-têtes* in her boudoir, he pretended to be jealous. To remove this bone of contention, she obtained for the officer, an order from his colonel to join his regiment immediately, at a distance of near 400 English miles; but an illness, the consequence of sincere, but disappointed, love, did not permit him to obey. Talleyrand, in the mean time, procured several *pressing* invitations from the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood, which gave him an opportunity to absent himself. He had already, before his departure, began to act the moralist, and in reprobating himself for what had passed, desired her to restore the father of her daughter, his health with her affection. When at a distance, he repeated in letters, what he had expressed in his conversation. Her answers evince a vigorous, but agitated mind, feeling the pangs of a slighted attachment, or suffering from injured pride and humbled vanity *.

---

* In the publication, called Mon Sejour en Allemagne, supposed to be written by Ch. Villars, now a member of the national institute, most of the particulars of this infamous intrigue are found. These the author, in his travels through that part of Germany, has since heard confirmed, by the female relation of the unfortunate victim of Talleyrand's art and perfidy. By that lady he was favoured with these original and last letters of her friend. They were written with several others in his possession, to Talleyrand,

At three o'clock in the afternoon.

"I could not begin my letter this morning—I was in a situation which made it utterly impossible for me to write; besides I had conceived a plan which I wanted previously to execute, and it is done.

"All my pleasing dreams of happiness are for ever fled! I dared still once more flatter myself with the idea that I could be happy!—It was a folly!—I ought to have known that happiness was not my lot in this world!—I wished to enjoy the peace of content, and of those pure pleasures destined only as the recompence of virtue,

---

leyrand, some days previous to the fatal catastrophe, and cruelly given up by him, in expectation of augmenting the enormity of his past guilt, by another seduction and another adultery. The author obtained permission to publish them, with due discretion to the high relatives of the injured party, and he hopes that he has made a proper use of this condescension.

As these letters necessarily lose by a translation, copies of the originals in the French will be found in an appendix to this work; one of them in a fac simile. When it is remembered, that this was not her native tongue, her talents must be applauded, whilst her errors are lamented. The purity of language equals her elegance of expression, and her strength and fluency of thought. She wrote the English, Italian, and German with equal accuracy.

virtue. How extravagant was the idea! I am well punished for it—and by whom? By him who had created this too flattering hope—by him who inspired my soul with this expectation—by him whom I supposed able to restore me my long lost happiness; that internal calm; that esteem of myself; in fine, every thing that my unfortunate destiny has caused me to lose.

"Oh! Charles! I utter no reproaches; I have none to utter.—I am unhappy, more unhappy than I have ever been—but I reproach nobody but myself, and what has passed, which I am not able to undo!—Nevertheless, it is true, if I merit my sufferings, I do not merit all that your letter contains; no! God is my witness, I did not merit it.—To tell thee what this cruel letter has made me endure—alas! it is impossible.—I was on the height of felicity by that I received from thee yesterday—to-day I am in the depth of misery.

"From what has passed I deserve to be judged in this manner, I deserve from what has passed, this terrible punishment! but the great God, who reads my inmost mind, knows that love, at present, has purified my heart; that I have revived,

vived, more than ever, the ardent desire of being prudent and virtuous! Yes! God knows, that by your assistance, by my true—tender love—by my excess of love for thee, I hoped again to become, what, with a mind formed for virtue, by the most unforeseen fatality, I unfortunately had ceased to be. I fondly hoped to have found in my darling lover, a tender and indulgent friend; who, for the future would serve me as a guide; who would offer me an assisting hand, to lead me back to the paths of virtue; and this assisting hand, alas! is now about to plunge me into an abyss!—To enter upon a reformation, it is necessary to regain some esteem of oneself; it is necessary, as you made me perceive, that, notwithstanding my past errors, I have within me a desire and capacity of doing good, which, thanks to *love* and *friendship*, can enable me to repair partly what has past. And yet in your last letter, you tell me, that my character is altered—you tell me that I am a sensual woman, who cannot live without a lover; who is only governed by her desires. You say, that I love the young man, and that, therefore, my love for you is a mere jest, and that I countenance you, only to make the world forget my intrigue with ——. Is this the manner in which you humble and degrade me! in which you judge those sentiments, so pure, so true—which animated my love for thee. Oh! my God! how have I deserved this humiliation?

"Consider what may be the consequences.—It is of thee that I have learned that my reputation was entirely lost; but your esteem, your good opinion remained and consoled me. At present, I know, that you no longer esteem me; nay, that nobody esteems me.—You have debased me, even in my own opinion. Was I, therefore, a woman influenced exclusively by her appetites, as you believe, you have removed the only barrier which hitherto prevented me from gratifying my passions. Despised by every body—despicable in my own eyes—you expose me to the danger of becoming so more than ever! But no! one sentiment revives me—it is, that notwithstanding my past errors, I am much better than you think. I am not, as you suppose, governed by my senses. My imagination and my head are much more ardent and powerful than they, and every thing which I have done, is rather to be ascribed to an error of judgment, than the dictates of my feelings.—A great desire of pleasing is my principal fault. The real stumbling block to me, is vanity; but my true and tender love for thee, had preserved me from it for the future.

" With regard to the young man, I had explained to you the origin and particulars of my connection with him, with the most perfect sincerity, as you requested, and I promised. But if I said that I was too easy in granting him certain favours, I spoke of the beginning of our acquaintance. I was connected with him less for my own gratification than for his: I delighted to see him so happy, and it was that which made me rather too familiar with him. But this familiarity has long ceased; and since I have loved thee, my connection with him has been a real torment. I did not know at first how to break with him, without rendering him miserable; but I found in his embraces quite the reverse of enjoyment. In fine, to speak a sincere truth, instead of loving him more than you, I feel, at this very moment, that I love thee more than I ever loved any being upon earth; and that in renouncing thee, I renounce my sole felicity; and, nevertheless—yes, nevertheless—Oh! my God! I see that I must renounce thee—I see it with despair—my hand trembles, while I tell it; my heart is near breaking, and my eyes are dim with tears—I must renounce even thee. But do not imagine that it is to connect myself with the young man. —No! I renounce even him, and this is no sacrifice for me; quite the contrary, I can have no more to do with him.

"Immediately after receiving the fatal letter, I formed, as I said, a plan which I have now executed. I sent for a physician; I spoke of my body, which has taken such a singular form since my lying-in. I afterwards sent for the young man, and told him, that the physician had explained the cause of this accident, as originating from the internal parts not having yet recovered their former tone; and that, therefore, it was to be wished, that I should remain some time without having any children. I then asked him, as a recompence for all that I had done for him, and as a proof of a sincere regard, that he would desist for some time from indulgencies, of which the consequences might prove fatal to me. He ap-

peared

peared terrified and afflicted; but he did not hesitate an instant upon a sacrifice he regarded so necessary from what I had said. I swear, in the presence of God, that, since our last interview, he has never approached me;—I swear, that I shall never more be to him what I have been!

"I do not speak in this manner to regain thee—no, Charles! I am convinced that I give up my greatest happiness; but as you judge me, I can hereafter be only your *friend.* You believe there is in me a temperament that renders the pleasures of love a real want. In your arms I should have the dreadful fear, that, far from thinking that you owed your pleasures to true love, you would think you were indebted for them only to my senses; I would not dare to express to you, in those moments, either my tenderness or my enjoyments, apprehending a conclusion too humiliating and too unjust to myself; and, besides, you do not esteem me enough to think me sincere. Nothwithstanding what I have said, and what I might say, you would not believe that my connection with the young man has ceased—and these doubts—I cannot endure them; in fine, I must submit to my fate; the felicity of a true, pure, and tender love I cannot expect. Fortunate, if one day, for all my present sufferings, you can regain a better opinion of me. This winter I am to pass far from you. Oh my God! after such pleasing expectations, why am I condemned to such a misfortune?

" The only object of my present desires is, that you will consent to what I propose, which will make me less unhappy. Come here, but come *as a friend*; do not lose sight of me a single instant; constantly observe my conduct; observe all my actions, and during all the time you will find that I am not connected with him, and that I can even remain without appertaining to you, the object of all my tenderness; then, perhaps, you will finally avow, that I am not the slave of my senses, and I may then hope to enjoy happiness in future. But if you will not remain with me *as a friend*, then I do not know what to do, because I must not, I cannot, I will not be your mistress until the moment when, with the most perfect conviction, you can say, 'Cordelia, I was unjust towards thee—you are not a creature attached entirely to the vile gratification of the senses you are again worthy all my tenderness and confidence.' Without waiting for the departure of the mail I have found an opportunity to forward this letter. For pity's sake answer me, and say whether you will accept my proposition, which is my only hope.

"I conjure you to answer me by the courier who brings you this letter. Can you read this letter? I was so distressed while I wrote it that it is hardly legible. Address your letter, by the bearer of this *to my husband*, and *rest assured* that, notwithstanding the direction, nobody but myself shall open it."

In this letter, an answer to Talleyrand's complaint of want of sincerity, this lady was induced to stoop to a falsehood, in hopes of preventing the inconstancy of her seducer. From the day she was connected with him all intimacy ceased with her former lover. Of this he was well convinced, but wishing to begin a new intrigue, he not only had cunning enough to make her believe that his desertion was her fault, but that she deserved his reproaches, and was unworthy of his attachment. Either in denying or accusing herself of a double intrigue, he was sure of succeeding in his plot. In the former case he would again declaim against her infidelity, and in the latter torment her duplicity. Whatever, therefore, the final issue might be, he would enjoy the barbarous triumph of having degraded her in her own eyes, after having dishonoured her in the opinion of the public. Her agitated state every line of her correspondences evinces; but her next letter shews that her health had been impaired from her affliction, as much as her feelings had suffered from her sensibility.

Monday.

"Yesterday I would not take the drugs which the physician had prescribed. Alas! said I to myself, of what use are all those remedies, the source of my malady is in my heart; my husband, however, compelled me by his reiterated instances. I do not know whether it is the effect of the prescriptions, or if nature, exhausted, has overpowered my grief, but last night I got some hours rest, and I rose this morning at my regular time, instead of being under the necessity, as I was yesterday, of remaining the whole day in bed. When I woke this morning, I was at first quite confused; I had not a single distinct sentiment of what, for some days past has made me so miserable;

but my sad ideas, my cruel remembrances teturned but too soon. Oh! Charles! how could you, in exchange for my tenderness, further condemn me to wretchedness? Why do you debar yourself from a happiness so easily obtained? Alas! cannot the sentence you have pronounced be recalled? no, it cannot! because I repeat it again, it requires an heavenly power to enable you to read my heart, to enlighten you, that you may distinguish truth from falsehood; you alone cannot do it—I see it too well—you cannot believe the unfortunate Cordelia was sincere. Perhaps you conclude her artifice truth, and her truth falsehood. What did I in writing those fatal letters? Oh! Charles! why at ———, where I was so sincere, did you refuse to believe me? Why then those cruel doubts, so afflicting to me? your doubts—your suspicions frequently troubled me, even in the midst of pleasures; in the moments when I felt myself most happy, you threw out hints and made use of expressions that wounded my soul most cruelly. At ———, Oh! God! where I enjoyed so great felicity, you were the cause of many, and bitter tears. Do you remember it, dear and cruel friend? I said to myself, that we should never be perfectly happy if I did not succeed to inspire in you a confidence equally necessary in love as well as in friendship. I would purchase this confidence at any rate. It was this desire that gave me the fortunate idea of accusing myself. He will not believe me, said I to myself, before I acknowledge myself culpable. My seeming sincerity will finally procure me his confidence, which is to me an absolute want. Nevertheless I could not persuade myself to let you suppose, that I divided my favours. This was the cause of my demanding your advice when I had no need of it; I should have said afterwards that I had followed it, and I hoped that, having finally removed your suspicions by my confessions, you would for the future think me sincere. I was far from expecting that you would advise me to renounce yourself. Having received that fatal letter which shewed how wrong my calculations were; having by a falsehood destroyed all my happiness, I was reduced to despair, not knowing what to say or to do. Though I tell you the truth, that I had related a falsehood in these imaginary avowals, I dare not—you would take it for a new artifice. To avoid this appearance, I imagined it would be best to inform you of my conversation with the young man—a conversation that took place long ago. Now, though too late, I return to truth, but I am persuaded it is in vain—you will never more believe me. In writing to you the second of these two letters, my heart was so oppressed—as if I had a presentiment of their consequences, although I persisted in these as the only means to appear sincere with you. It is thus I have caused my own wretchedness—but I am not the sole cause of it. Oh! Charles! your suspicions, your unfortunately cruel mistrusts have had the greatest share. I should be less miserable was I alone the only sufferer; but oh! you!—oh! you! my well-beloved, for whom no sacrifice would be too great for me, whose content I exclusively meditated.—Oh! Charles! you partake the horror of my destiny, and we could both be so happy! Every thing else was in our favour; but with all that I dare not hope any more—what will your letter of Thursday contain?

" Charles, I am possessed of more *sang froid* today than yesterday. I am always melancholy, miserable beyond expression; but what I say is dictated by reflection, and *I persist to tell you*: if you do not assent to the last favour I have to ask of you; if you intend to leave me without seeing me, then, forgetting every tie that should restrain me, I will set out—I will follow you every where. I can forsake my child, my husband—I can forego every thing for thee; but to remain without having seen you—to remain a victim to my horrid despair, it is beyond all human power to support—God knows, I cannot endure the very thought.

" Charles! Charles! have pity on me, do not sacrifice me to misery, despair, and remorse. Oh! Charles! a woman who loves you with the sincerest affection—a woman who has nothing to reproach herself with towards you, but with having once used an artifice with an intention that was not criminal, does she merit to be condemned to eternal wretchedness? If such is your determination, and if it is irrevocable, then pray to God that he may soon finish the deplorable existence of the unfortunate Cordelia!"

The husband of the lady whose seduction Talleyrand now laboured to effect, being neither a convert to the precepts of German philosophy, nor an admirer of the tenets of French morality, was affectionate in his family, strict in his religious, and regular in his social duties; he injured no man, and would, therefore, probably not patiently endure unprovoked offence from others. Occupying besides an eminent situation in his own country, his resentment for any outrage offered to his bed could not fail to be certain, as well as severe. To give so much the greater eclat to his gallantry, or rather to prevent vengeance and justice from overtaking him, Talleyrand who now had obtained permission to return to France, told his new mistress that he proposed to carry her to that land of infamy and licentiousness, though in fact he only intended to carry her away from her home, expose her, ruin her, and then, perhaps, leave her on the frontiers of her country, a pray to dishonour and want*. This is the journey mentioned and dreaded by poor Cordelia in the foregoing and following letters, because she supposed it to have no other object than what he had written to her, "that he was going to travel, to try to forget his love to her"—a sentiment of which she had made herself unworthy, but from which he, nevertheless, was the greatest sufferer [*]. The idea of having, by her imprudence, both lost a lover, to whom she was still strongly attached, and made him unhappy by his attachment to her, which he could not remove, increased her own torments, and hastened to close the scene of his villainy.

---

* Mon Sejour en Allemagne, Basle 1800, p. 52.

Sunday.

" The day of your departure from ——— is then fixed; you are going to remove far away from me, and that without having seen me. Having received this news, it is time for me to write to you, for the *last time*, on a subject of such importance to *our* happiness. It will cost me great efforts to write to you as calmly as is necessary. In spite of all my endeavours to govern myself—my hand trembles, and my ideas are confused. Charles! I repeat it—it is *for the last time* I shall attempt to address myself to your heart; if it is in vain, I condemn myself to silence;—I submit to *my destiny—deceived by you.* I beg you to read what I am going to tell you *with*

---

[*] See Mon Sejour en Allemagne, Basle, 1800, p. 60.

attention—read it often, and do not pronounce your sentence hastily.

"Yet, I hope nothing from this letter—no! no! I have nothing to hope; your resolution is no doubt not to be shaken. Yes, I perceive, more than ever, that you are resolved to break those affectionate ties which united us, which made us so happy. I shall endeavour to examine with *sang-froid* the reasons which have induced you to take that fatal determination. Were not the happiness and honour of Cordelia your first and principal motives? Yes, these were the tender, the honourable, and pure motives that induced you to make a sacrifice, to which you will perceive, that I also shall submit. I respect your intentions—but, take care Charles! that you have not made a wrong calculation; take care, in wishing my felicity, that you do not bring about my destruction; take care, in spite of your praise-worthy intentions, that one day you may not have the most cruel reflections preying on your mind; take care, when you might have made me both happy and respectable, that you *alone* are not the author of my misery, and in desiring to restore me to the path of virtue,

tue, that you do not irremediably force me into the road of perdition; take care that you do not hurry me into a most awful futurity! Your advices are excellent, your moral lessons are pure—but alas! it is too late for me to follow them. Charles! Charles! a violent and invincible passion consumes me!—You tell me that I am to search for happiness by fulfilling the duties imposed on me as a wife, as a mistress, and as a mother! The last title I acknowledge, and shall try to observe its commands; but for those of a wife and a mistress I acknowledge them no longer. I protest that it is totally impossible, that I should ever have any thing more to do with the young man. In a connection between us I see no advantages either for him or for me; and did they even exist, my heart revolts against them. Besides, I do not see that any duty urges me to keep up our acquaintance. Is it on his account? our characters are too opposite to assimilate and to agree. He will suffer for a moment in resigning me for ever, but he will retrieve his happiness. As to Julia! my child has no interest that can oblige me to assent to a continuance of our connection. God forbid that she should ever know him to be the author of her existence. With regard to myself, if all these reasons did not exist to dissuade me, I should never more have any connection with him. I cannot, therefore, as you conclude, find any comfort or consolation in an union founded upon duty, because I know no such union.

"I must then remain afflicted and isolated, devoured by an incurable passion; reproaching myself that I might have been happy; tormented by unavailing regrets and desires—my youth, my health, my life will fade away. But this is not the greatest evil to which you expose me. If, in order to extricate myself from an insupportable situation; if, to drive away consuming thoughts; if my soul, having lost that serenity it enjoyed in a prosperous state; if, in fine, I run the risk of becoming one day more despicable than ever—Charles! it will be entirely owing to you. But if, on the contrary, I could have lived with you.—Oh, I should have become so prudent, that you might, notwithstanding my past errors, have judged me worthy of you. Then—then first should I discharge the duty of a wife and a mistress with rapture, and to its full extent,

tent, because love would then have made the exercise of virtue easy. Oh, my God! Charles, will you not pity me? You fancy that what you are doing is for my welfare—but you deceive yourself, and I am the victim of this cruel mistake. But, perhaps, it is on your own account that you wish to see an end of our connection? Do you think me unworthy of thee? Or do you suspect that I partake of happiness with any body else? Oh, Charles, if I have been unworthy of thee, I will devote my whole life to repair my faults. Pardon me, generous man! tender and sensible friend!—forgive what has past, and put me into a situation to efface it by a contrary conduct in future. Convince yourself by never leaving me, that you have no partners in my favours. I promise you always to remain under your eyes whilst you are with me, and for any short journies, I could undertake them with you. Pray do not refuse to convince yourself of every thing! Oh, make me not miserable!

"Pray listen to me! If it is in vain to ask you to pass the winter with me, if you have absolutely condemned me to that sacrifice; then do not complete the measure of my sufferings, but remain in some place in the neighbourhood not too distant from here. I solemnly swear, that without your permission I shall not visit you. At least in the first outset, do not remove too far; try to gain time to reflect on every thing more calmly. No, it is impossible that your mind can possess sufficient tranquillity to estimate exactly our mutual situation. If you act rashly, and when my happiness was in your power, my ruin was the inevitable consequence of your resolve, could you ever forgive yourself?

"Only for this winter—and afterwards you can carry me away with you far from here. Then I know nothing that can prevent me. Only for this winter, and you may observe every thing yourself; or can you for your satisfaction invent any expedient to send the young man entirely away, when he is a little recovered? Find out that expedient to restore me Charles—to restore me felicity. No! I cannot *live* without you. In vain have I made every possible effort with myself.

self. Take care, I repeat it, not to prepare for thyself *eternal* repentance.

" At least, as a last favour, do not travel too far from here—I could never support it.

" You can hardly read this letter; but it informs you, better than any description of mine, how my health is. I can hardly hold the pen in my hand. You will, perhaps, even accuse me of being the cause of my own illness; you will tell me it is my duty to take care of myself. Alas! I wish nothing better, but God knows that I have done every thing that could be done; but, in spite of myself, I am in a most shocking state, from which you alone can relieve me.

" Adieu, Charles! I shall not afflict you any more. I have *for ever* done speaking to you of my dreadful sufferings. Vain words will no longer inform you of them; but one day you will be acquainted with them, in consequence of the terrible effects they have produced with regard to me; but I promise you solemnly never to mention them more.

" Adieu, Charles! adieu! you are then going to leave me! Be happy! Cordelia shall do every thing in the world not to interrupt your happiness. You shall hear no more of her sad sorrows!—Adieu, my dear!—my best beloved!—my all! adieu! adieu!"

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Printed for John Murray, No. 32, Fleet-ſtreet,

In three cloſely printed volumes, 12mo. price 18s. in boards;

THE FOURTH EDITION,

With faithful Portraits of MOREAU, PICHEGRU, and the DUKE of ENGHIEN, and a Fac-Simile of part of a curious Memorial of the Spy, MEHEE de la TOUCHE,

OF THE

REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH;

Exhibiting the moſt DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS, Literary, Military, and Political, in the Recent Annals of the FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The greater Part from the Original Information of

A GENTLEMAN RESIDENT AT PARIS.

Theſe Biographical Memoirs include, among Others,

THE

WHOLE OF THE BUONAPARTE FAMILY.

The EMPEROR. The Emperor's Father and Mother, CARLO BUONAPARTE, and LETITIA RANIOLINI. His Brothers, JOSEPH, LUCIEN, LOUIS, and JEROME. His Siſters, Madame BACCHIOCHI, Princeſs SANTA CRUCE, Madame MURAT, the Princeſs BORGHESE *ci-devant* Madame LE CLERC. The EMPRESS. Her Son, EUGENIUS DE BEAUHARNOIS. Her Daughter, FANNY DE BEAUHARNOIS.

All the Generals and Admirals commanding in the
Army of England,
With copious Lives of MOREAU, PICHEGRU, GEORGES,
the Duke D'ENGHIEN, MEHEE DE LA TOUCHE,
BERTHIER, ANDREOSSY, ROCHAMBEAU, MENOU,
FOUCHE, SIEYES, the Grand Judge REGNIER, &c. &c.
Including a correct Diſplay of the

SINGULAR POLICE NOW EXISTING IN PARIS,
And a Sketch of the War in La Vendée.

To the preſent Edition is likewiſe added, the Subſtance of a very intereſting Converſation which took place between General Pichegru and a Phyſician of eminence who attended him whilſt in London.

⁂ A few Copies of the New Volume, containing all the Portraits, &c. may be had by the Purchaſers of the firſt Edition, to complete their Sets. Price 7s. in Boards.

"The contents of theſe volumes are intereſting in a remarkable degree; as detailing, either from perſonal knowledge, or from accredited works of other writers, the lives, conduct, and crimes, of every perſon diſtinguiſhed as a relative, a courtier, a favourite, a tool, an accomplice, or a rival, of the Corſican Upſtart, who has hitherto, with impunity, oppreſſed and plundered the continent of Europe; and as exhibiting, at the ſame time, a clear diſplay of the extraordinary kind of police by which Paris is now regulated. Such a maſs of moral turpitude as is here diſplayed, yet in a form that leaves little room to ſuſpect its authenticity, makes us bluſh for our ſpecies. The public crimes of the Buonaparte family are not more odious, than the vices of their private lives are flagitious. We believe that no reader who begins to peruſe this collection of Republican Biography will feel inclined to relinquiſh it till he has gone through its pages. The ſubject is univerſally intereſting, and the incidents are ſo well narrated, as to juſtify us in giving the book our unqualified recommendation."—*European Magazine, January* 1804, p. 56.

T. Gillet, Printer, Salisbury Square.